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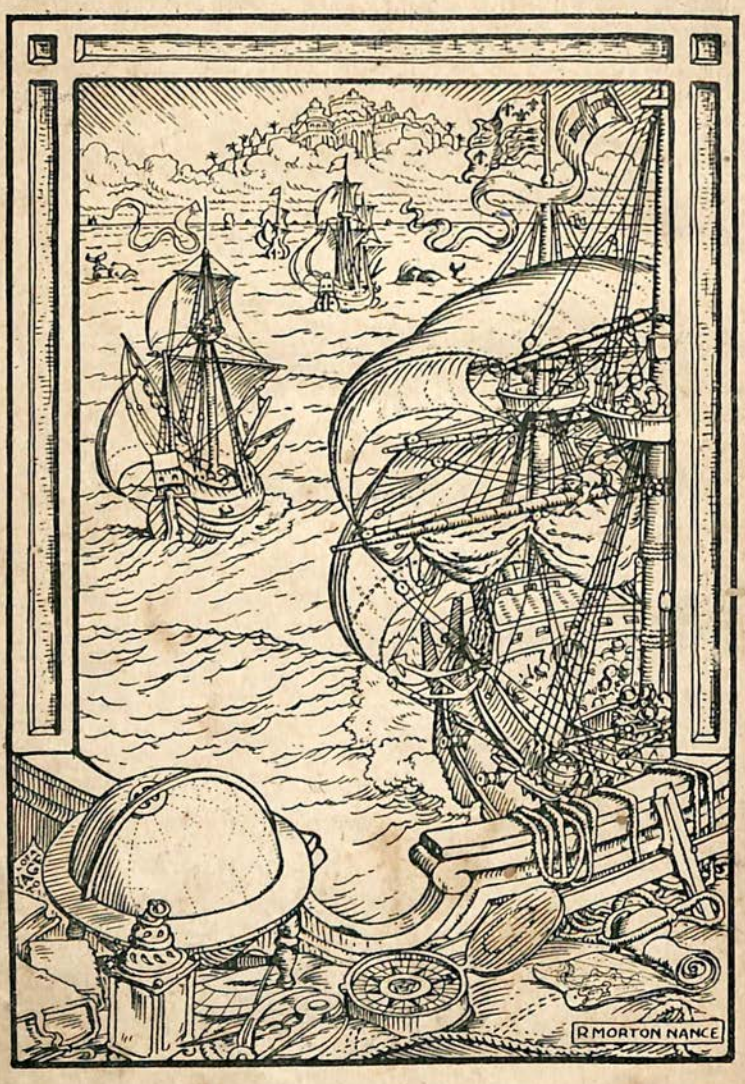
HAKLUYT'S ENGLISH VOYAGES



THE QUEST OF ELDORADO

HAKLUYT'S ENGLISH VOYAGES

SELECTED AND EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS BY

R. MORTON NANCE

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It was the Drakes and Hawkins, Gilberts and Raleighs, Grenvilles and Oxenhams, and a host more of 'forgotten worthies,' whom we shall learn one day to honour as they deserve, to whom England owes her commerce, her colonies, her very existence.—CHARLES KINGSLEY, *Westward Ho!*

HORACE MARSHALL & SON
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PREFACE

THE best way of giving interest to a subject, especially to a science or a branch of knowledge, is by relating its history, and tracing its origin and growth. If a student of astronomy or applied mathematics is informed of the life stories of those workers whose insight and patient labour slowly but surely built up the fair edifice of their science, life and human interest are given to their pursuit, the love of it is enhanced, and enthusiasm will scarcely fail to be aroused.

The same will surely be the result of the adoption of a similar plan with regard to other branches of knowledge. There is no more important study, to prepare for any line of life whatever, than the study of geography. It embraces so much, the need of it is so great in every profession, ignorance of it is so disastrous.

The best preparation for the study of geography is a knowledge of its history, and of the voyages and travels, of the adventures and valorous deeds, of the makers of geography in the days of old, the builders of our Empire; for what region of the habitable or

uninhabitable globe is not full of their labours? These stories excite the imagination, arouse curiosity, and prepare the mind for the study of that science of geography which was created by the ability, perseverance, and bravery of the heroes embalmed by Hakluyt.

No one has ever told these stories so well as Richard Hakluyt. He himself began to learn them when he was a boy at Westminster School. His whole life was devoted to the preservation of the gallant deeds of his countrymen. For Britons, his narratives are the fitting and the best introduction to the study of geography.

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book contains a small selection from one of those monumental outcrops of miscellaneous literature which appeared during the Shakespearean period. The work of Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, is difficult to summarise in a phrase, and it will perhaps be best to give in short detail an outline of the contents of the three bulky volumes which he issued in the years 1598–1600, from which this book is compiled.

The work bore the title of *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation, made by Sea or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres.* This title hardly gives a clear idea of the manifold variety of the contents. The majority of the voyages described are naturally trading voyages of the sixteenth century, such as those to the Levant, Barbary, Guinea, and the White Sea. There are many accounts of privateering expeditions, led by men like Francis Drake, the Earl of Cumberland, John Hawkins, and James Lancaster; also of explorations on sea and land,

both legendary, as those of King Arthur, and historical, as those of Sebastian Cabot, Martin Frobisher, Francisco Gualle, Stephen Burrough, John Davis, and many others; and the circumnavigations of Drake and Candish. We find ambassadors' journeys, pilgrimages and crusades from 500–1400 A.D., and other wanderings. There are the first accounts of colonizing experiments, by the English in Virginia, the French in Florida, the Spaniards in Central America, and the Portuguese in the East Indies. Of adventures pure and simple we find a large number: captivities among the Turks and Spaniards, exciting escapes, shipwrecked mariners in the Bermudas, men lost among the Eskimo and negro tribes. There are specimens of ships' logs and instructions, ruttiers and traverse-books, special regulations respecting trade, the killing of the whale, the treatment of natives; ordinances, fleet-rolls, inventories of ships' goods wrongly seized, royal privileges (of Grand Signors, Emperors, and Princes), passports, and letters patent, such as those of Henry VII. to the Cabot family, and of Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh. There are interesting merchants' letters of the sixteenth century, which give an insight into methods of conducting business and of educating young men for their trade; there are royal letters—of Edward VI., to any rulers the seekers for the North-East passage to Cathay might meet with; of Henry VIII. to the King of Portugal;

and of Elizabeth to the Turkish High Admiral, the Kings of China and Cambaia (Cambay in Gujarat), and the Emperors of Muscovy, Morocco, and Ethiopia. We find careful and extensive descriptions of countries which at that time provided English people with a catalogue of wonders greater and more vivid than those of the mediæval books of fables. This new world comprised Turkey, the Transcaspian provinces, Burmah, China, Japan, Corea, Timbuctoo, Newfoundland, Virginia, Guiana, and Mexico, to name a few of the lands now first visited by Englishmen. And in these descriptions are many accounts of contemporary history of the greatest importance, such as those of the burning of Moscow by the Crim Tartar, the coronation of a Russian Emperor, the siege of Famagosta, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada. There are documents of value to students of folklore, ethnology, natural history, and philology; for example, Eskimo and Javanese vocabularies, accounts of mystic rites in far distant countries, and descriptions of various fisheries and natural products.

The man who devoted himself to the labour of amassing all these records, and thus laid the English nation in his debt for all time, was Richard Hakluyt, a Herefordshire man of Dutch ancestry. After leaving Westminster School he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he studied widely and became acquainted with several languages. He afterwards lectured on Cosmo-

graphy, then resided in Paris for some years. He held a living in Suffolk, became prebendary and archdeacon of Westminster and chaplain of the Savoy. He died in 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In the extract from his 1598 preface given in this volume is a touching account of his devotion to the work of his choice. A fuller description of his studies is to be found in the epistle dedicatory (to Sir Francis Walsingham) to the 1589 edition of his *Principall Navigations.* He says there: "I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majesties scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen unto you, at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the Earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & intercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and

turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doors whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

"According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was removed to Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French or English languages, and in my publike lectures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted

with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation."

The five years he spent in France were passed in the service of Sir Edward Stafford, the resident Ambassador; and during this period he became convinced of the necessity of placing on record "the industrious labors, and painefull travels of our countrey men," so that England might not longer suffer reproach "for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempt." In the epistle dedicatory to the 1598 volume (to Lord Charles Howard of Effingham) he says: "Seeing no man to step forth to undertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but every man to folow his private affaires: the ardent love of my countrey devoured all difficulties; and as it were with a sharpe goad provoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great changes and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and travels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I have collected three severall volumes of the English Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I have not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, have brought to light many very

rare and worthy monuments, which long have lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & retchlesly[1] hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to have bene buried in perpetuall oblivion."

In the history of Geography Hakluyt stands conspicuously at the end of the period of mediæval Cosmography, the knowledge of which was based on the labours of Greek and Roman writers like Herodotus, Pliny, Plutarch, Ptolemy, and Strabo. He himself was anxious to break away from these wearisome compilations and break fresh ground, believing with Ptolemy that it was the history of travel which was "to bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world." He thus stood in line with Francis Bacon, at the threshold of the experimental period.

A glance at the maps of the period, those made by the eminent Abraham Ortelius and Gerard Mercator, correspondents of Hakluyt, shows us how much of this experimental work had yet to be done before any accurate knowledge of the main features even of the world's surface was to be acquired. In the Ortelius map of the world of 1570, which was praised by Hakluyt, a vast continent, Terra Australis Nondum Cognita, stretches round the southern part of the sphere, and a similar continent, Terra Septen-

[1] Recklessly, heedlessly.

trionalis Incognita, along the northern part. The configuration of Scandinavia and the Baltic is wrong, the legendary large island Friesland is placed to the south-west of Iceland and the Atlantic is strewn with fabulous islands. Generally speaking, however, the coast-line of the Old World comes surprisingly near to being correct, and the names themselves are modern, taking the place of the obsolete Ptolemaic names. There is no Australia, though Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and the Molucca Islands are marked. Cathaio includes the modern Manchuria, China occupying the region further south. In the New World the outline only of South America and Central America have been fully surveyed, with certain parts of Florida, Virginia, and the modern Canadian coast. The Arctic regions and the interior of North America were unknown lands. There was, indeed, much to be learnt, and this was clearly recognised by Hakluyt.

But it is doubtful whether so much progress would have been made without the stimulus of adventure and possibilities of trade. The division of the rich southern portion of the world by the Portuguese and Spaniards, the glowing accounts of treasure and precious goods imported into these countries, and the cruelties and constant insolencies of the Spaniards, all contributed to increase the eagerness with which Englishmen joined in the search. But apart from these extraneous influences, we are able to discern in Hakluyt an interest in the acquiring of

geographical knowledge, elementary as his views and theories were compared with those of modern geographers. It was his earnest desire that there might be "a Lecture of Navigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grose ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discover all parts of the face of the Earth, to this Realme in former ages not known."

In 1582 he received a letter from Sir Francis Walsingham, encouraging him in his study of geography, "wishing you do continue your travell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefit of this Realme."

Hakluyt's records are also of great importance in the history of colonization. He was the direct successor in this country of Sebastian Cabot, in matters relating to discovery and the establishment of friendly and commercial relations. The date of the letters patent (March 5th, 1496), granted by Henry III. to John Cabot and his sons Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus, by which they were allowed to make a voyage of discovery (in Northern, Eastern, or Western seas), has been styled "the birthday of the British Empire." And when we read the ordinances drawn up fifty-seven years later by Sebastian Cabot, then an old man, for Sir Hugh Willoughby's

voyage to the North-East, we have no difficulty in recognising certain principles which soon began to take effect in our early colonizing attempts, in contradistinction to the policy of force and rapine which characterised Spain's colonizing and lay at the root of her decline and fall.[1]

Sebastian Cabot died in 1557, and his mantle fell on the worthy shoulders of Richard Hakluyt. It is pleasing to reflect that the same humane spirit which directed their actions and those of men like Richard Chancellor and Martin Frobisher (that spirit which in Portuguese history found its highest point in Vasco da Gama) has been the basis of all successful British colonizing, and as such is our guarantee of stability.

In the history of Literature Hakluyt takes his place among the honourable group of compilers and translators of the Shakespearean period. It was the day of laborious work. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, North's *Plutarch*, and Camden's *Britannia* (soon to be translated from the Latin by the chief of translators, Philemon Holland) were noble models of industry, but none of these are likely to have equalled the task that faced Hakluyt. There is very little in the three volumes which he definitely assigns to himself, but there is no doubt that his purely literary labour was great, and that many of the accounts he published were rewritten by him.

[1] See note to p. 15.

As it is, there is great diversity of style, varying from the simple ship's log and London merchant's business letter, to the prose of Hakluyt himself and Raleigh, where we reach literature at a high point. Hakluyt's work has been styled "the prose Epic of the modern English nation," but it is rather a miscellaneous collection of the utmost interest in the history of commerce, shipping, travel, colonization, and philology, in which the simple narrative style is constantly heightened by the air of adventure and the glamour of the period, while here and there are passages of almost lyrical intensity, beautiful reaches of prose, and revelations of character.

On the technical side of literature Hakluyt's work is far more valuable than has been recognised. That monument of modern industry, the New English Dictionary, is indebted to Hakluyt for many enlightening passages, and in the notes to this volume a number of passages are noted in which Hakluyt is the first authority for the use of certain words or phrases.

At a time when the whole world is learning from our brave allies in the Sunrise Islands a noble object-lesson in patriotism, it is perhaps opportune to remind English people, by the publication of this book, that we, too, at the dawn of our Island Empire, had to fling off hordes of would-be invaders from the mainland. It is astonishing that these heroic

tales of our forefathers' bravery have been allowed to lie in oblivion. They are the first necessity in any lessons by which we aim at imparting a love of country, and they form a splendid bulwark against all false forms of patriotism. And they bring home to us our dependence on valour at sea, the lesson which Themistocles drove into the heads of the Athenians, when they, too, were threatened by huge armies from over-sea. "He wan the citizens by degrees to bend their force to sea, declaring vnto them, how by land they were scant able to make head against their equals, whereas by their power at sea, they should not only defend themselves from the barbarous people, but moreouer be able to command all Greece. Hereupon he made them good mariners, & passing sea men, where before they were stout and valiant souldiers by land."[1]

NOTE

The spelling of Hakluyt has been modernised in this volume, but with certain necessary changes and omissions the text is practically that of the 1598–1600 edition. The order of the extracts is chronological, as this order seems most serviceable when the book is viewed as a sidenote on history. It is specially desirable that, in order to double the value of this book in geographical lessons, good maps be used with it. The two maps here given have been drawn in an old style but with modern outlines, and a large number of the names occurring in the book

[1] North's *Plutarch* (1595), 125.

may be found there. But this should not prevent the use of wall-maps in class.

I should like to express my thanks to Sir Clements Markham for his kind mark of interest in this book; also to Mr. Edward Heawood, the Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, for the welcome help he has constantly extended me, when I have had recourse to the library.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

TEIGNMOUTH,
January, 1905.

HAKLUYT'S ENGLISH VOYAGES

A PREFACE TO THE READER AS TOUCHING THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES AND DISCOURSES IN THIS FIRST PART

1598

HAVING for the benefit and honour of my country zealously bestowed so many years, so much travail and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in dark silence, to light, and to preserve certain memorable exploits of late years by our English nation achieved, from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torn and scattered limbs of our ancient and late navigations by sea, our voyages by land, and traffics of merchandise by both: and having (so much as in me lieth) restored each particular member, being before displaced, to their true joints and ligaments; I mean by the help of Geography and Chronology (which I may call the Sun and Moon, the right eye and the left of all history) referred each particular relation to the due

time and place: I do this second time (friendly Reader, if not to satisfy, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer unto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse.

For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewn shape, which here thou seest, what restless nights, what painful days, what heat, what cold I have endured; how many long and chargeable journeys I have travelled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what variety of ancient and modern writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters &c. I have redeemed from obscurity and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entered; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what fair opportunities of private gain, preferment, and ease I have neglected; albeit thyself canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do find and feel, and some of my entire friends can sufficiently testify. Howbeit (as I told thee at first) the honour and benefit of this commonweal wherein I live and breathe, hath made all difficulties seem easy, all pains and industry pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment unto me.

For (to contain myself only within the bounds of this present discourse, and in the midst thereof to begin) will it not in all posterity be as great renown unto our English nation, to have been the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North Cape (never certainly known before) and of a convenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia, by the bay of S. Nicolas and the river of Duina; as for the Portugales to have found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona

Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to have discovered unknown lands, so many hundred leagues westward and south-westward of the Straits of Gibraltar and pillars of Hercules?

Be it granted that the renowned Portugale Vasco de Gama traversed the main ocean southward of Africa: did not Richard Chancellor and his mates perform the like northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus, that noble and high-spirited Genoese escried unknown lands to the westward of Europe and Africa; did not the valiant English knight Sir Hugh Willoughby, did not the famous pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman accoast Nova Zembla, Colgoieve and Vaigatz, to the north of Europe and Asia?

Howbeit you will say perhaps: Not with the like golden success, not with such deductions of colonies, nor attaining of conquests.

True it is, that our success hath not been correspondent unto theirs: yet in this our attempt the uncertainty of finding was far greater, and the difficulty and danger of searching was no whit less. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time most skilful and judicial in cosmography, who writ above 2000 years ago) in his fourth book called Melpomene, signified unto the Portugales in plain terms, that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulf and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides environed with the Ocean?

And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Egyptian King, who (for trial's sake) sent a fleet of Phœnicians down

the Red Sea; who setting forth in autumn and sailing south-ward till they had the sun at noon-tide upon their starboard (that is to say, having crossed the equinoctial and the southern tropic) after a long navigation, directed their course to the north, and in the space of three years environed all Africa, passing home through the Gaditan straits and arriving in Egypt? And doth not Pliny tell them, that noble Hanno, in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage, sailed from Gades in Spain to the coast of Arabia Felix, and put down his whole journal in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of Augustus Cæsar, the wreck of certain Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian Gulf?

And, not to be over-tedious in alleging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the second book of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Pliny in the place before named, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and valing down the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the southern point of Africa, and at length arrived at Gades?

And what should I speak of the Spaniards? Was not divine Plato (who lived so many ages ago, and plainly described their West Indies under the name of Atlantis) was not he, I say, instead of a Cosmographer unto them?

Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle as their fore-runners? And had they not Columbus to stir them up, and prick them forward unto their Western discoveries; yea, to be their chief lodes-man and pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy nations had those bright lamps of learning (I mean the most ancient and best Philosophers,

Historiographers, and Geographers) to shew them light; and the lode-star of experience (to wit, those great exploits and voyages laid up in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to undertake?

But alas! our English nation, at the first setting forth for their North-eastern discovery, were either altogether destitute of such clear lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as misty as they found the Northern Seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deter them, than to give them encouragement.

But besides the foresaid uncertainty, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselves, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselves unto the rigour of the stern and uncouth Northern Seas, and to make trial of the swelling waves and boisterous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then they were to sail by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the unhaunted shores of Finmark, to double the dreadful and misty North Cape, to bear with Willoughby's land, to run along within kenning of countries of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and unlock the seven-fold mouth of Duina.

Moreover in their north-easterly navigation upon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieve, Petzora, Joughoria, Samoedia, Nova Zembla &c. and their passing and return through the straits of Vaigatz, unto what drifts of snow and mountains of ice even in June, July, and August, unto what hideous over-falls, uncertain currents, dark mists and fogs, and divers other fearful inconveniences they were

subject and in danger of, I wish you rather to learn out of the voyages of Sir Hugh Willoughby, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, than to expect in this place an endless catolugue thereof. And here by the way, I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few years have discovered to 78° yea, as themselves affirm, to 81° of northerly latitude: yet with this proviso: that our English nation led them the dance, brake the ice before them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch.

But now it is high time for us to weigh our anchor, to hoise up our sails, to get clear of these boisterous, frothy, and misty seas, and with all speed to direct our course for the mild, lightsome, temperate and warm Atlantic Ocean, over which the Spaniards & Portugales have made so many pleasant, prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny that both of them in their East and West Indian navigations have endured many tempests, dangers & shipwrecks: yet this dare I boldly affirm; first that a great number of them have satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty minds with that reputation and wealth which made all perils and misadventures seem tolerable unto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I do only stand upon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous than ours to the north-east. For admit that the way was much longer, yet it was never barred with ice, mist or darkness, but was at all seasons of the year open and navigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of wind.

Moreover they had no foreign prince to intercept

or molest them, but their own towns, islands and main lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Azores, of Porto Santo, of Madeira, of Cape Verde, the castle of Mina, the fruitful and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conveniently situated & well fraught with commodities. And had they not continual and yearly trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaves, for sugar, elephants' teeth, grains, silver, gold and other precious wares, which served as allurements to draw them on by little and little, and as props to stay them from giving over their attempts? But now let us leave them and return home unto ourselves.

THE VOYAGE OF MACHAM, AN ENGLISH MAN,

WHEREIN HE FIRST OF ANY MAN DISCOVERED THE ISLAND OF MADEIRA,

RECORDED VERBATIM IN THE PORTUGAL HISTORY, WRITTEN BY ANTONIO GALVANO

IN the year 1344, King Peter, the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Island of Madeira, standing in 32 degrees, was discovered by an Englishman named Macham, who sailing out of England into Spain, with a woman that he had stolen, arrived by tempest in that Island, and did cast anchor in that haven or bay, which now is called Machico, after the name of Macham. And because his lover was seasick, he went on land with some of his company, and the ship with a good wind made sail away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, who loved her dearly, built a chapel or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Jesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or graven upon the stone of her tomb, and the occasion of their arrival there.

And afterward he ordained a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of great compass about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and

were left behind with him, and came upon the coast of Africa, without sail or oar.

And the Moors which saw it, took it to be a marvellous thing, and presented him to the king of that country for a wonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle unto the King of Castile. In the year 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gave of this Island, and also the ship of his company, moved many of France and Castile to go and discover it, and also the great Canary.

In the year 1417, King John the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Lady Katherine being regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admiral of France, demanded the conquest of the Islands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur John Betancourt; and after the Queen had given him them, and holpen him, he departed from Seville with a good army. And they affirm also, that the principal cause which moved him to this, was to discover the Island of Madeira, which Macham had found.

WILLIAM HAWKINS' TRADE WITH BRAZIL

MADE BY THE WORSHIPFUL MR. WILLIAM HAWKINS, OF PLYMOUTH, FATHER TO SIR JOHN HAWKINS, IN THE YEAR 1530

OLD Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, a man for his wisdom, valour, experience, and skill in sea-causes much esteemed, and beloved of King Henry VIII., and being one of the principal sea-captains in the west parts of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made only to the known coasts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly ship of his own, of the burthen of 250 tons, called the Paul of Plymouth, wherewith he made three long and famous voyages unto the coast of Brazil, a thing in those days very rare, especially to our nation.

In the course of which voyages he touched at the River of Sestos, upon the coast of Guinea, where he trafficed with the negroes, and took of them elephants' teeth, and other commodities which that place yieldeth; and so arriving on the coast of Brazil, used there such discretion, and behaved himself so wisely with those savage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendship with them. Insomuch that in his second voyage, one of the savage kings of the country of Brazil was contented to take ship with

him, and to be transported hither into England; whereunto Mr. Hawkins agreed, leaving behind in the country as a pledge for his safety and return again, one Martin Cockeram of Plymouth.

This Brazilian king being arrived, was brought up to London and presented to King Henry VIII. lying as then at Whitehall; at the sight of whom the king and all the nobility did not a little marvel, and not without cause: for in his cheeks were holes made according to their savage manner, and therein small bones were planted, standing an inch out from the said holes, which in his own country was reputed for a great bravery. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bigness of a pease. All his apparel, behaviour and gesture were very strange to the beholders.

Having remained there the space almost of a whole year, and the king being fully satisfied with his sight, Mr. Hawkins, according to his promise and appointment, purposed to convey him again into his country. But it fell out in the way, that by change of air and alteration of diet, the said savage king died at sea, which was feared would turn to the loss of life of Martin Cockeram, his pledge. Nevertheless, the savages being fully persuaded of the honest dealing of our men with their prince, restored again the said pledge, without any harm to him, or any man of the company; which pledge of theirs they brought home again into England, with their ship freighted, and furnished with the commodities of the country. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witness of Sir John Hawkins, being an officer in the town of Plymouth, was living within these few years.

I have been certainly informed by Mr. Anthony Garrard, an ancient and worshipful merchant of the city of London, that this commodious and gainful voyage to Brazil was ordinarily and usually frequented by Mr. Robert Reniger, Mr. Thomas Borey, and divers other substantial and wealthy merchants of Southampton, about sixty years past, to wit in the year 1540.

THE JURAMENTUM OR OATH MINISTERED TO THE CAPTAIN, SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY

1553

YOU shall swear to be a faithful, true, and loyal subject in all points and duties that to a subject appertaineth, to our sovereign Lord the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors: and that you shall well and truly, to the uttermost of your capacity, wit and knowledge, serve this present voyage committed to your charge, and not to give up, nor sooner intermit the same, until you shall have achieved the same, so far forth as you may without danger of your life, and loss of the fleet: you shall give good, true and faithful counsel to the said society, and to such as shall have charge with or under you, and not to disclose the secrets, or privities of the same to any person by any manner of mean, to the prejudice, hurt or danger of it. You shall minister justice to all men under your charge, without respect of person, or any affection that might move you to decline from the true ministration of justice.

And further, you shall observe, and cause to be observed, as much as in you lieth, all and singular rules, articles, provisions hitherto made, or hereafter

to be made for the preservation or safe-conduct of the fleet and voyage, and benefit of the company. You shall not permit nor suffer the stock or goods of the company to be wasted, embezzled, or consumed, but shall conserve the same whole and entire, without diminishment until you shall have delivered, or cause to be delivered the same, to the use of the company.

And finally, you shall use yourself in all points, sorts and conditions, as to a faithful captain and brother of this company shall belong and appertain: So help you GOD, &c.

SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY'S LAST VOYAGE

1553-4

THE twenty-second day the wind coming fair, we departed from Rost, sailing N.N.E., keeping the sea until the twenty-seventh day, and then we drew near unto the land, which was still east of us: then went forth our pinnace to seek harbour, and found many good harbours, of the which we entered into one with our ships, which was called Stanfew, and the land being islands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle were the people, being under the king of Denmark: but we could not learn how far it was from the main land: and we remained there until the thirtieth day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the foresaid Rost about thirty leagues N.N.E.

The thirtieth day of July about noon we weighed our anchors, and went into the seas, and sailed along these islands N.N.E., keeping the land still in sight until the second day of August: then haling in close aboard the land, to the intent to know what land it was, there came a skiff of the island aboard of us, of whom we asked many questions, who shewed unto us that the island was called Seynam, which is in the latitude of 70 degrees, and from Stanfew thirty leagues, being also under the king of Denmark, and

that there was no merchandise there, but only dried fish and train oil.

Then we being purposed to go unto Finmark enquired of him if we might have a pilot to bring us thither, and he said, that if we could bear in, we should have a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring us to Finmark, unto the Wardhouse, which is the strongest hold in Finmark, and most resorted to, by report.

But when we would have entered into an harbour, the land being very high on every side, there came such flaws of wind and terrible whirl-winds, that we were not able to bear in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea again, our pinnace being unshipped: we sailed north and by east, the wind increasing so sore that we were not able to bear any sail, but took them in, and lay adrift, to the end to let the storm overpass.

And that night by violence of wind, and thickness of mists, we were not able to keep together within sight; and then about midnight we lost our pinnace, which was a discomfort to us. As soon as it was day, and the fog overpast, we looked about, and at the last we descried one of our ships to leeward of us: then we spread an hullock of our fore-sail, and bare room with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not see.

Then the flaw something abating, we and the Confidence hoised up our sails the fourth day, sailing N.E. and by N. to the end to fall with the Wardhouse, as we did consult to do before, in case we should part company. Thus running N.E. and by N. and N.E. fifty leagues, then we sounded, and had

160 fathoms, whereby we thought to be far from land, and perceived that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherefore we changed our course the sixth day, and sailed S.E. and by S. eight and forty leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouse.

The fourteenth day early in the morning we descried land, which land we bare with, hoising out our boat to discover what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land because the water was so shoal; there was very much ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lieth from Seynam E. and by N. 160 leagues, being in Latitude 72 degrees.

The eighteenth day, the wind coming at the N.E. and the Confidence being troubled with bilge-water, and stocked, we thought it good to seek harbour for her redress; then we bare room the eighteenth day S.S.E. about 70 leagues.

The twenty-first day we sounded and found 10 fathoms; after that we sounded again, and found but seven fathoms shoaler and shoaler water, and yet could see no land, whereat we marvelled greatly: to avoid this danger, we bare roomer into the sea all that night N.W. and by W.

The next day we sounded, and had twenty fathoms, then shaped our course, and ran W.S.W. until the twenty-third day: then we descried low land, unto which we bare as near as we could, and it appeared unto us uninhabitable. Then we plied west-ward along by that land which lieth W.S.W. & E.N.E. and much wind blowing at the west, we haled into the sea N. and by E. 30 leagues. Then the wind coming about at the N.E. we sailed W.N.W.: after that, the wind bearing to the N.W., we lay with our sails

W.S.W. about 14 leagues, and then descried land, and bare in with it, being the twenty-eighth day, finding shoal water, and bare it till we came to three fathoms, then perceiving it to be shoal water, and also seeing dry sands, we haled out again N.E. along that land until we came to the point thereof.

That land turning to the west-ward, we ran along 16 leagues N.W.: then coming into a fair bay, we went on land with our boat. This place was uninhabited, but yet it appeared unto us that the people had been there, by crosses, and other signs: from thence we went all along the coast west-ward.

The fourth day of September we lost sight of land, by reason of contrary winds, and the eighth day we descried land again. Within two days after, we lost the sight of it: then running W. by S. about 30 leagues, we got the sight of land again and bare in with it until night: then perceiving it to be a lee shore, we got us into the sea, to the end to have sea room.

The twelfth of September we haled to shoreward again, having then indifferent wind and weather: then being near unto the shore, and the tide almost spent, we came to anchor in 30 fathoms water. The thirteenth day we came along the coast, which lay Northwest by West and South-east by East.

The fourteenth day we came to an anchor within two leagues of the shore, having 60 fathoms. There we went ashore with our boat, and found two or three good harbours, the land being rocky and high, but as for people we could see none. From the fifteenth day we ran still along the coast until the seventeenth day: then the wind being contrary unto us, we thought it best to return unto the harbour, which we had found

THE LAST DAYS OF WILLOUGHBY

before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18th of September, we entered into the haven and there came to anchor at six fathoms.

This haven runneth into the main about two leagues, and is in breadth half a league, wherein were very many seal fishes and other great fishes, and upon the main we saw bears, great deer, foxes, with divers strange beasts, as guloines or ellons and such other which were to us unknown, and also wonderful.

Thus remaining in this haven the space of a week, seeing the year far spent, and also very evil weather, as frost, snow and hail, as though it had been the deep of winter, we thought best to winter there.

Wherefore we sent out three men S.S.W., to search if they could find people; who went three days' journey, but could find none. After that, we sent other three westward, four days' journey, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men S.E. three days' journey, who in like sort returned without finding of people or any similitude of habitation.

These two notes following were written upon the outside of this pamphlet or book.

1. The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughby after he was separated from Edward Bonaventure.

2. Our Ship being at anchor in the harbour called Sterfier in the Island Lofoote.

The river or haven wherein Sir Hugh Willoughby with the company of his two Ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, near unto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ship, that Sir Hugh Willoughby and most of the company were alive in January, 1554.

OF THE DISCIPLINE OF WAR AMONG THE RUSSES

WRITTEN BY CLEMENT ADAMS AT THE DICTATION OF RICHARD CHANCELLOR

1553

WHENSOEVER the injuries of their neighbours do call the King forth to battle, he never armeth a less number against the enemy than 300,000 soldiers, 100,000 whereof he carrieth out into the field with him, and leaveth the rest in garrison in some fit place, for the better safety of his Empire.

He presseth no husbandman, nor merchant; for the country is so populous, that these being left at home, the youth of the realm is sufficient for all his wars.

As many as go out to warfare do provide all things of their own cost: they fight not on foot, but altogether on horse-back: their armour is a coat of mail, and a helmet: the coat of mail without is gilded, or else adorned with silk, although it pertain to a common soldier: they have a great pride in shewing their wealth: they use bows and arrows, as the Turks do: they carry lances also into the field. They ride with a short stirrup, after the manner of the Turks.

They are a kind of people most sparing in diet, and most patient in extremity of cold above all others. For when the ground is covered with snow, and is

grown terribly hard with the frost, this Russe hangs up his mantle or soldier's coat, against that part from whence the wind and the snow drive, and so making a little fire, lieth down with his back towards the weather: this mantle of his serves him for his bed, wall, house and all. His drink is cold water of the river, mingled with oatmeal, and this is all his good cheer, and he thinketh himself well and daintily fed therewith, and so sitteth down by his fire, and upon the hard ground, roasting as it were his weary sides thus daintily stuffed. The hard ground is his feather bed, and some block or stone his pillow: and as for his horse, he is as it were a chamber-fellow with his master, faring both alike.

How justly may this barbarous and rude Russe condemn the daintiness and niceness of our captains, who living in a soil and air much more temperate, yet commonly use furred boots and cloaks? But thus much of the furniture of their common soldiers. Those who are of higher degree, come into the field a little better provided.

As for the furniture of the Emperor himself, it is then above all other times most notable. The coverings of his tent for the most part are all of gold, adorned with stones of great price, and with the curious workmanship of plumasiers.

As often as they are to skirmish with the enemy, they go forth without any order at all. They make no wings, nor military divisions of their men, as we do, but lying for the most part in ambush, do suddenly set upon the enemy.

Their horses can well abstain two whole days from any meat. They feed upon the barks of trees, and

the most tender branches, in all the time of war. And this scant and miserable manner of living, both the horse and his master can well endure, sometimes for the space of two months, lusty, and in good state of body.

If any man behave himself valiantly in the field, to the contentation of the Emperor, he bestoweth upon him in recompense of his service, some farm, or so much ground as he and his may live upon, which notwithstanding, after his death, returneth again to the Emperor, if he die without a male issue. For although his daughters be never so many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peradventure the Emperor of his goodness gives some portion of the land amongst them, to bestow them withal. As for the man, whosoever he be, that is in this sort rewarded by the Emperor's liberality, he is bound in a great sum, to maintain so many soldiers for the war when need shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperor, is able to maintain.

And all those, to whom any land falls by inheritance, are in no better condition; for if they die without any male issue, all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperor. And moreover, if there be any rich man amongst them, who in his own person is unfit for the wars, and yet hath such wealth that thereby many noblemen and warriors might be maintained, if any of the courtiers present his name to the Emperor, the unhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant deprived of all his riches, which with great pains and travail all his life-time he had gotten together: except perhaps some small

portion thereof be left him, to maintain his wife, children and family.

But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperor's commandment, that a man would think, they rather make restitution of other men's goods, than give that which is their own to other men. Now the Emperor having taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his courtiers, according to their deserts: and the oftener that a man is sent to the wars, the more the favour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperor; although he go upon his own charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their prince.

THE SECOND VOYAGE TO GUINEA UNDER CAPTAIN JOHN LOCK

1554–5

NOW therefore I will speak somewhat of the country and people, and of such things as are brought from thence. They brought from thence at the last voyage four hundred pounds weight and odd of gold, of two and twenty carats and one grain in fineness: also six and thirty butts of grains, and about two hundred and fifty elephants' teeth of all quantities.

Of these I saw and measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as big as a man's thigh above the knee, and weighed about fourscore and ten pounds weight apiece. They say that some one hath been seen of an hundred and five and twenty pounds weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calves, of one or two or three years, whereof some were a foot and a half: some two feet and some three or more, according to the age of the beast.

These great teeth or tusks grow in the upper jaw downward, and not in the nether jaw upward, wherein the painters and arras-workers are deceived. At this last voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an elephant, of such huge bigness, that only the bones or

cranium thereof, beside the nether jaw and great tusks, weighed about two hundred weight: and was as much as I could well lift from the ground; insomuch that considering also herewith the weight of two such great teeth, the nether jaw with the less teeth, the tongue, the great hanging ears, the big and long snout or trunk, with all the flesh, brains and skin, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my judgement it could weigh little less than five hundred weight.

This head divers have seen in the house of the worthy merchant Sir Andrew Judde, where also I saw it, and beheld it not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering upon the work, the cunning and wisdom of the workmaster; without which consideration, the sight of such strange and wonderful things may rather seem curiosities, than profitable contemplations.

The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all four-footed beasts; his forelegs are longer than his hinder, he hath ankles in the lower part of his hinder legs, and five toes on his feet undivided; his snout or trunk is so long, and in such form, that it is to him in the stead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his trunk to his mouth. Therewith he helpeth up his master or keeper; therewith he overthroweth trees.

Beside his two great tusks, he hath on each side of his mouth four teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meat. Either of these teeth is almost a span in length, as they grow along in the jaw, and are about two inches in height, and almost as much in thickness. The tusks of the male are greater than

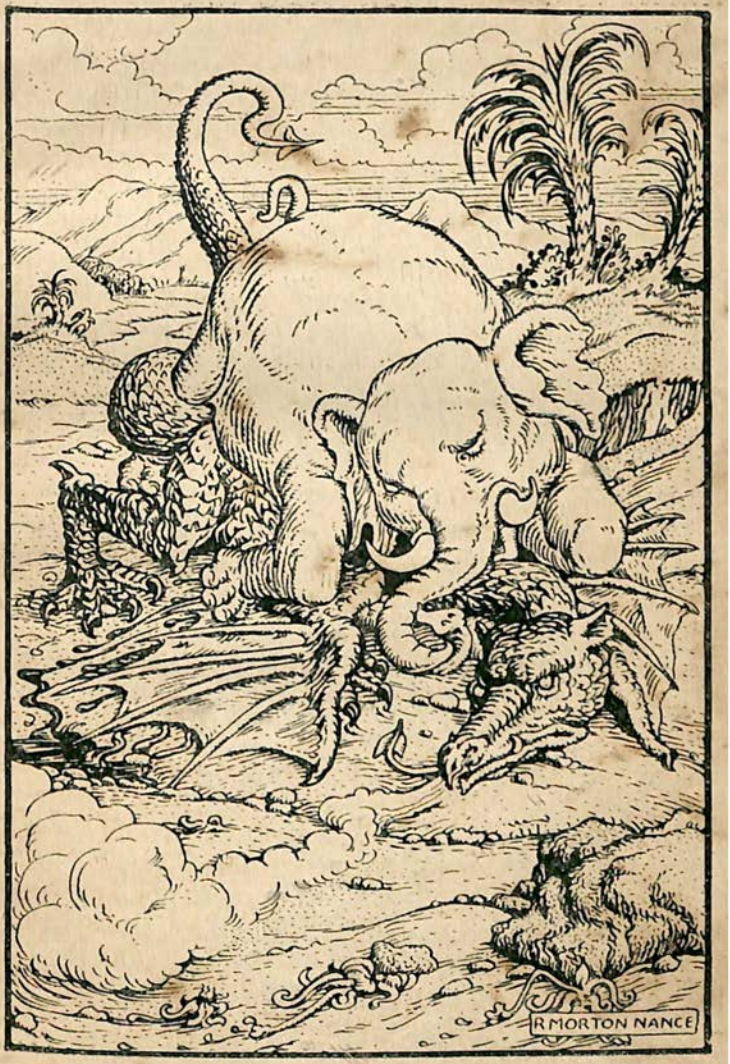
those of the female. His tongue is very little, and so far in his mouth, that it cannot be seen. Of all beasts they are most gentle and tractable; for by many sundry ways they are taught, and do understand; insomuch that they learn to do due honour to a king, and are of quick sense and sharpness of wit.

The male Elephant liveth two hundred years, or at least one hundred and twenty; the female almost as long, but the flower of their age is but threescore years, as some write. They cannot suffer winter or cold: they love rivers, and will often go into them up to the snout, wherewith they blow and snuff, and play in the water, but swim they cannot, for the weight of their bodies.

If they happen to meet with a man in the wilderness, being out of the way, gently they will go before him, and bring him into the plain way. Joined in battle they have no small respect unto them that be wounded, for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended. They are made tame by drinking the juice of barley.

They have continual war against dragons, which desire their blood, because it is very cold: and therefore the dragon lying await as the elephant passeth by, windeth his tail (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the elephant, and so staying him, thrusteth his head into his trunk and exhausteth his breath, or else biteth him in the ear, whereunto he cannot reach with his trunk.

And when the Elephant waxeth faint, he falleth down on the serpent, being now full of blood, and with the poise of his body breaketh him: so that his own blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth



THE ELEPHANT AND THE DRAGON

out of him mingled together, which being cold, is congealed into that substance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, that is, Dragon's blood, otherwise called Cinnabaris, although there be another kind of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermillion, which the Painters use in certain colours. They are also of three kinds, as of the marshes, the plains, and the mountains, no less differing in conditions.

Philostratus writeth, that as much as the elephant of Libya in bigness passeth the horse of Nysea, so much do the elephants of India exceed those of Libya: for the elephants of India, some have been seen of the height of nine cubits. The other do so greatly fear these, that they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the Indian elephants only the males have tusks, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kinds are tusked: they are of divers heights, as of twelve, thirteen and fourteen dodrants, every dodrant being a measure of nine inches. Some write that an elephant is bigger than three wild oxen or buffes. They of India are black, or of the colour of a mouse, but those of Ethiopia or Guinea are brown.

The hide or skin of them all is very hard, and without hair or bristles. Their ears are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very little. Our men saw one drinking at a river in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Of other properties and conditions of the elephant, as of their marvellous docility, of their manner of fighting and use in the wars, when they were first seen in the theatres and triumphs of the Romans, how they are taken and tamed, and when they cast

their tusks, with the use of the same in medicine, whoso desireth to know, let him read Pliny, in the eighth book of his Natural History.

He also writeth in his twelfth book that in old time they made many goodly works of ivory or elephants' teeth: as. tables, trestles, posts of houses, rails, lattices for windows, images of their gods, and divers other things of ivory, both coloured and uncoloured, and intermixed with sundry kinds of precious woods, as at this day are made of certain chairs, lutes, and virginals.

They had such plenty thereof in old time, that (as far as I remember) Josephus writeth, that one of the gates of Jerusalem was called Porta Eburnea, that is the Ivory Gate. The whiteness thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the natural fairness of man's skin: insomuch that such as went about to set forth (or rather to corrupt) natural beauty with colours and painting, were reproved by this proverb, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make ivory white with ink.

The Poets also, describing the fair necks of beautiful virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Ivory necks. And to have said thus much of elephants and ivory, it may suffice.

WILLIAM TOWERSON'S VOYAGE TO GUINEA

1555

THERE are near to the sea upon this River divers inhabitants, which are mighty big men and go all naked except a clout, about a quarter of a yard long, made of the bark of trees; and yet it is like a cloth, for the bark is of that nature, that it will spin small after the manner of linen. Some of them also wear the like upon their heads, being painted with divers colours, but the most part of them go bare-headed, and their heads are clipped and shorn of divers sorts, and the most part of them have the skin of their bodies raced with divers works, in manner of a leather jerkin.

The same morning we went into the river with our skiff, and carried certain basins and manels. And there we took that day one hogshead and one hundred pounds weight of grains and two elephants' teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. We sold them both basins and manelios and margarits, but they desired most to have basins. For the most part of our basins we had by estimation about thirty pounds for a piece, and for an elephant's tooth of thirty pounds weight, we gave them six.

The sixteenth day in the morning we went into

the river with our skiff, and took some of every sort of our merchandize with us, and shewed it to the Negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basins, manelios and margarits which yesterday they did buy.

Howbeit for the basins they would have given us some grains, but to no purpose, so that this day we took not by estimation above one hundred pounds weight of grains, by means of their Captain, who would suffer no man to sell anything but through his hands, and at his price. He was so subtle, that for a basin, he would not give fifteen pounds weight of grains, and sometimes would offer us small dishfuls, whereas before we had baskets full; and when he saw that we would not take them in contentment, the Captain departed, and caused all the rest of the boats to depart, thinking belike that we would have followed them, and have given them their own askings.

But after that we perceived their fetch, we weighed our grapnel and went away, and then went on land into a small town to see the fashions of the country. And there came a three-score of them about us, and at first they were afraid of us, but in the end, perceiving that we did no hurt, they would come to us and take us by the hand, and be familiar with us. Then we went into their towns, which were like to twenty small hovels, all covered over with great leaves and baggage, and all the sides open, and a scaffold under the house about a yard high, where they work many pretty things of the barks of trees, and there they lie also.

In some of their houses they work iron, and make fair darts, and divers other things to work their boats,

and other things withal, and the women work as well as the men. But when we were there divers women to shew us pleasure, danced and sang after their manner, full ill to our ears.

Their song was thus:—

Sakere, sakere, ho! ho! Sakere, sakere ho! ho!

And with these words, they leap, dance, and clap their hands.

Beasts we could see none that they had, but two goats, small dogs and small hens; other beasts we saw none.

After that we had well marked all things, we departed and went aboard our ships: which thing the Captain of the other town perceiving, sent two of his servants in a boat with a basket of grains, and made us signs that if when we had slept we would come again into their river, we should have store of grains, and so shewed us his grains and departed.

The seventeenth day in the morning, as we thought that the Negroes would have done something because the Captain sent for us, I required the Master to go ashore, and sent the rest of our merchants with him, and tarried aboard myself by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so little. So when the master and the rest came into the river, the Captain with divers others came to them, and brought grains with them, and after he saw that I was not there, he made signs to know where I was, and they made signs to him again that I was in the ship. Then he made signs to know who was Captain, by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captain, and they pointed to the master of the ship. Then he began to shew his grains,

but he held them so unreasonably, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Master perceiving, and seeing they had no store of grains, came away, and took not above fifty pounds weight of grains.

Then he went ashore to the little town where we were the day before, and one of them plucked a gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, and came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signs to them to depart: which our men did, having but one bow and two or three swords, and went aboard the boat and came away from them. As soon as they were come aboard we weighed and set sail, but the wind was off the sea, so that we could not get out clear of certain rocks, and therefore we came to anchor again.

This river is called River St. Vincent, standing in four degrees and a half, and it ebbeth and floweth there every twelve hours, but not much water when it ebbeth the most: while we were there, it ebbed one fathom and a half water.

This country as far as we could perceive is altogether woody, and all strange trees, whereof we knew none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaves like great docks, which be higher than any man is able to reach the top of them. There are certain peasen by the sea-side, which grow upon great and very long stalks; one of the stalks I measured, and found it twenty-seven paces long, and they grow upon the sand like to trees, and that so near the sea that sometimes the sea floweth into the woods, as we might perceive by the water marks. The trees and all things in this place grow continually green.

A STORM OFF THE MEXICAN COAST

ABOUT the beginning of January, 1556, we departed from San Domingo towards the bay of Mexico and New Spain, toward which we set our course, and so sailed twenty-four days till we came within fifteen leagues of S. Juan de Ullua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge.

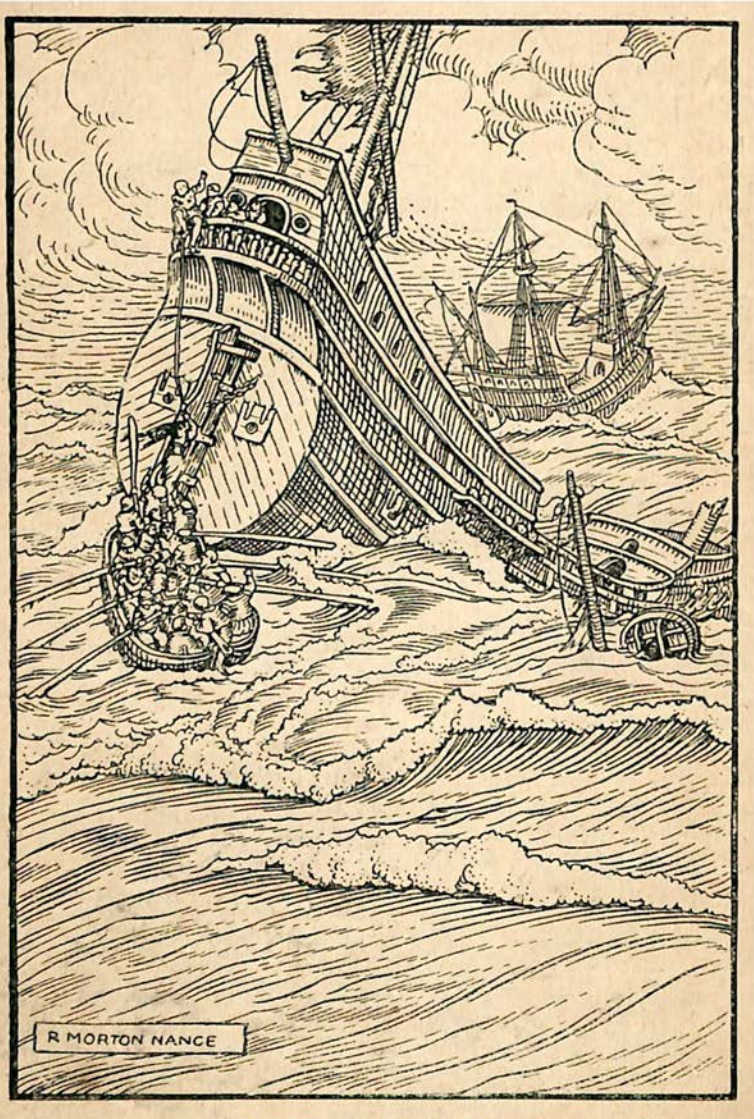
And being so near our said port, there rose a storm of northerly winds, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused us to cast about into the sea again, for fear lest that night we should be cast upon the shore before day did break, and so put ourselves in danger of casting away. The wind and sea grew so foul and strong, that within two hours after the storm began, eight ships that were together were so dispersed that we could not see one another. One of the ships of our company being of the burthen of five hundred tons, called the hulk of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. Juan de Ullua, but missing the port went with the shore and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship seventy-five persons, men, women and children, and sixty-four were saved that could swim, and had means to save themselves.

Among those that perished in that ship was a gentleman who had been present the year before in San Domingo, his wife and four daughters, with the rest of his servants and household.

We with the other seven ships cast about into the sea, the storm during ten days with great might, boisterous winds, fogs and rain. Our ship being old and weak was so tossed that she opened at the stern a fathom under water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers, and for fear of sinking we threw and lightened into the sea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not serve.

Then we cut our mainmast and threw all our ordnance into the sea, saving one piece, which early in a morning, when we thought we should have sunk, we shot off, and as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company near unto us, which we saw not by means of the great fog, which hearing the sound of the piece, and understanding some of the company to be in great extremity, began to make towards us; and when they came within hearing of us, we desired them for the love of God to help to save us, for that we were all like to perish. They willed us to hoise our foresail as much as we could and make towards them, for they would do their best to save us, and so we did. And we had no sooner hoised our foresail, but there came a gale of wind and a piece of a sea, strook in the foresail, and carried sail and mast all overboard, so that then we thought there was no hope of life.

And then we began to embrace one another, every man his friend, every wife her husband, and the



THE RESCUE IN THE STORM

children their fathers and mothers, committing our souls to Almighty God, thinking never to escape alive; yet it pleased God in the time of most need when all hope was past, to aid us with his helping hand, and caused the wind a little to cease, so that within two hours after the other ship was able to come aboard us, and took into her with her boat, man, woman, and child, naked without hose or shoe upon many of our feet.

I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat was a woman black Moor, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a young sucking child in her arms, leapt too short and fell into the sea, and was a good while under the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreading of her clothes rose above water again, and was caught by the coat and pulled into the boat, having still her child under her arm, both of them half drowned, and yet her natural love towards her child would not let her let the child go. And when she came aboard the boat, she held her child so fast under her arm still, that two men were scant able to get it out.

So we departed out of our ship and left it in the sea: it was worth four hundred thousand ducats, ship and goods, when we left it. And within three days after we arrived at our port of S. Juan de Ullua in New Spain.

I do remember that in the great and boisterous storm of this foul weather, in the night, there came upon the top of our mainyard and mainmast a certain little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and

said it was S. Elmo, whom they take to be the advocate of sailors. At the which sight the Spaniards fell down upon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to cease the torment, and save them from the peril that they were in, with promising him that, at their coming on land, they would repair unto his Chapel, and there cause Masses to be said, and other ceremonies to be done. The friars cast relics into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies upon the sea to make the storm to cease; which (as they said) did much good to weaken the fury of the storm.

This light continued aboard our ship about three hours, flying from mast to mast and from top to top; and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed myself of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said that it was but a congelation of the wind and vapours of the sea congealed with the extremity of the weather, which flying in the wind, many times doth chance to hit on the masts and shrouds of the ships that are at sea in foul weather. And in truth I do take it to be so; for that I have seen the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once.

MOSCOW IN 1558

By Anthony Jenkinson

The city of Moscow is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windows of iron, which serve for summer time. There are many fair churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperor's lodging is in a fair and large castle, walled four-square of brick, high and thick, situated upon a hill, two miles about, and the river on the southwest side of it. It hath sixteen gates in the walls, and as many bulwarks.

His palace is separated from the rest of the castle by a long wall going north and south to the river side. In his palace are churches, some of stone and some of wood, with round towers fairly gilded. In the church doors, and within the churches are images of gold. The chief markets for all things are within the said castle, and for sundry things sundry markets, and every science by itself. In the winter there is a great market without the castle, upon the river being frozen, and there are sold corn, earthen pots, tubs, sleds &c. The castle is in a circuit 2900 paces.

The country is full of marsh ground and plain, in woods and rivers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corn. This Emperor is of great power, for he hath conquered much, as well of the Lieflanders,

Poles, Lettoes, and Swethenses, as also of the Tartars, and Gentiles called Samoeds, having thereby much enlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great subjection. All matters pass his judgement, be they never so small. The law is sharp for all offenders. The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion as himself listeth, whom the Emperor greatly honoureth. They use the ceremonies and orders of the Greek Church. They worship many images painted on tables, and specially the image of S. Nicholas. Their priests be married, but their wives being dead, they may not marry the second time, and so become monks, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They have four Lents in the year, and the week before Shrovetide, they call the butter-week.

They have many sorts of meats and drinks, when they banquet and delight in eating of gross meats and stinking fish. Before they drink they use to blow in the cup; their greatest friendship is in drinking. They are great talkers and liars, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, and are kept straightly from going abroad, except at some seasons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drank away their children and all their goods at the Emperor's tavern. And not being able to pay, having pawned themselves, the taverner bringeth them out to the highway, and beats them upon the legs; then they that pass by, knowing the cause, and having peradventure compassion upon them, give the money, and so they are ransomed.

In every good town there is a drinking tavern

called a Cursemay, which the Emperor sometimes letteth out to farm, and sometimes bestoweth for a year or two on some duke or gentleman, in recompense of his service; and for that time he is Lord of all the town, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him. Then he being grown rich, is taken by the Emperor, and sent to the wars again, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill means. So that the Emperor in his wars is little charged, but all the burden lieth upon the poor people.

They use saddles made of wood and sinews, with the tree gilded with damask work, and the seat covered with cloth, sometimes of gold, and the rest Saphian leather well stitched. They use little drums at their saddle-bows, by the sound whereof their horses use to run more swiftly.

The Russe is apparelled in this manner: his upper garment is of cloth of gold, silk, or cloth, long, down to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of silver, or else laces of silk, set on with brooches, the sleeves thereof very long, which he weareth on his arm ruffed up. Under that he hath another long garment buttoned with silk buttons, with a high collar standing up of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silk, or some gold, with a collar of pearl. Under his shirt, he hath linen breeches, upon his legs a pair of hose without feet, and his boots of red or yellow leather.

On his head he weareth a white colpecke, with buttons of silver, gold, pearl or stone, and under it a black fox cap, turned up very broad. When he rideth on horse-back to the wars, or any journey, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bows and arrows

of the same manner. In the town he weareth no weapon, but only two or three pairs of knives, having the hafts of the tooth of a fish called the morse.

In the winter time, the people travel with sleds in town and country, the way being hard and smooth with snow. The waters and rivers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled will draw a man upon it four hundred miles in three days. But in the summer time, the way is deep with mire, and travelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any ability, never goeth out of his house in the winter, unless upon his sled, and in summer upon his horse; and in his sled he sits upon a carpet, or a white bear's skin. The sled is drawn with a horse well decked, with many foxes' and wolves' tails at his neck, and is conducted by a little boy upon his back. His servants stand upon the tail of the sled.

BOKHARA IN 1558

By Anthony Jenkinson

So upon the 23rd day of December we arrived at the city of Boghar in the land of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with divers gates into the same. It is divided into three partitions, whereof two parts are the King's, and the third part is for merchants and markets; and every science hath their dwelling and market by themselves.

The city is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone, sumptuously builded and gilt, and specially bath-stoves so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world; the manner whereof is too long to rehearse.

It is there forbidden to drink any other thing than water, and mare's milk, and whosoever is found to break that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who have authority to go into any man's house, to search if he have either aquavitæ, wine, or brage, and finding the same, do break the vessels, spoil the drink, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly; yea, and many times if they perceive but by the breath of a man

that he hath drunk, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

There is a Metropolitan in this Boghar, who causeth this law to be so straightly kept, and he is more obeyed than the king, and will depose the king, and place another at his will and pleasure, as he did by this king that reigned at our being there: and his predecessor, by the means of the said Metropolitan: for he betrayed him, and in the night slew him in his chamber, who was a Priest that loved all Christians well.

The country of Boghar was sometime subject to the Persians, and the people do speak the Persian tongue. But it is now a kingdom of itself, and hath most cruel wars continually with the said Persians, about their religion, although they are all Mahometists. One occasion of their wars is for that the Persians will not cut the hair of their upper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars do; which they account great sin, and call them Caphars, that is, unbelievers, as they do the Christians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches; his revenues are but small, and he is most maintained by the city, for he taketh the tenth penny of all things that are there sold, as well by the craftsmen as by the merchants, to the great impoverishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great subjection; and when he lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the shops of the said merchants, to take their wares to pay his debts, and will have credit by force, as the like he did to pay me certain money that he owed me for nineteen pieces of kersey.

Their money is silver and copper, for gold there is

none current. They have but one piece of silver, and that is worth twelve pence English. The copper money is called Pooles, and one hundred and twenty of them go to the value of the said twelve pence; it is more common payment than the silver, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his most advantage, every other month, and sometimes twice a month; not fearing to oppress his people, for that he looketh not to reign above two or three years before he be either slain or driven away, to the great destruction of the country and merchants.

The 26th day of the month I was commanded before the said king, to whom I presented the Emperor of Russia his letters, who entertained us most gently, and caused us to eat in his presence; and divers times he sent for me, and devised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperor and the great Turk, as also of our countries, laws and religion, and caused us to shoot in hand-guns before him, and did himself practise the use thereof.

But after all this great entertainment before my departure, he shewed himself a very Tartar: for he went to the wars owing me money, and saw me not paid before his departure. And although indeed he gave order for the same, yet was I very ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest, contrary to my expectation. But of a beggar better payment I could not have, and glad I was so to be paid and despatched.

But yet I must needs praise and commend this barbarous king, who immediately after my arrival at Boghar, having understood our trouble with the

thieves, sent one hundred men well armed, and charged them not to return before they had either slain or taken the said thieves. Who according to their commission, ranged the wilderness in such sort, that they met with the said company of thieves, and slew part, and part fled, and four they took and brought unto the king, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our guns. After the king had sent for me to come to see them, he caused them all four to be hanged at his palace gate, because they were gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten again I had part restored me, and this good justice I found at his hands.

There is yearly great resort of merchants to this city of Boghar, which travel in great caravans from the countries thereabout adjoining, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with divers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage. But these merchants are so beggarly and poor, and bring so little quantity of wares, lying two or three years to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chief commodities that are brought thither out of these foresaid countries are these following. The Indians do bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all roll about their heads, and all other kinds of whites, which serve for apparel, made of cotton wool and craska; but gold, silver, precious stones and spices they bring none. I enquired and perceived that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the veins where all such things are gotten, are in the subjection of the Portugals.

The Indians carry from Boghar again wrought

silks, red hides, slaves, and horses, with such like, but of kerseys and other cloth they make little account. I offered to barter with merchants of those countries which came from the furthest parts of India, even from Bengal and the river Ganges, to give them kerseys for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commodity as cloth.

The Persians do bring thither craska, woollen cloth, linen cloth, divers kinds of wrought pied silks, Argomacks, with such like, and do carry from thence red hides, with other Russe wares, and slaves, which are of divers countries; but cloth they will buy none, for that they bring thither themselves, and is brought unto them, as I have enquired, from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkey.

The Russes do carry into Boghar red hides, sheepskins, woollen cloth of divers sorts, wooden vessels, bridles, saddles with such like, and do carry away from thence divers kinds of wares made of cotton wool, divers kinds of silks, craska, with other things, but there is but small utterance.

From the countries of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, musk, rhubarb, satin, damask, with divers other things.

At my being at Boghar, there came caravans out of all these foresaid countries, except from Cathay: and the cause why there came none from thence was the great wars that had dured three years before my coming thither, and yet dured between two great countries and cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certain barbarous field people, as well Gentiles and Mahometists bordering to the said

cities. The cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that war against Taskent are called Cassaks of the law of Mahomet. And they which war with the said country of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles and idolaters.

These two barbarous nations are of great force, living in the fields, without house or town, and have almost subdued the foresaid cities, and so stopped up the way that it is impossible for any caravan to pass unspoiled: so that three years before our being there, no caravan had gone, or used trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar; and when the way is clear, it is nine months' journey.

To speak of the said country of Cathay, and of such news as I have heard thereof, I have thought it best to reserve it to our meeting. I having made my solace at Boghar in the winter time, and having learned by much inquisition the trade thereof, as also of all the other countries thereto adjoining, and the time of the year being come for all caravans to depart, and also the king being gone to the wars, and news come that he was fled, I advertised by the Metropolitan himself, that I should depart, because the town was like to be besieged. I thought it good and meet to take my journey some way, and determined to have gone from thence into Persia, and to have seen the trade of that country, although I had informed myself sufficiently thereof, as well at Astracan, as at Boghar: and perceived well the trades not to be much unlike the trades of Tartaria.

But when I should have taken my journey that way, it was let by divers occasions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie

and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the ways were destroyed. And there was a caravan destroyed by rovers and thieves, which came out of India and Persia, by safe conduct: and about ten days' journey from Boghar they were robbed, and a great part slain.

Also the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater than the king, took the Emperor's letters of Russia from me, without which I should have been taken slave in every place. Also, all such wares I had received in barter for cloth, and as I took perforce of the king, and other his nobles, in payment of money due unto me, were not vendible in Persia: for which causes, and divers others, I was constrained to come back again to Mare Caspium, the same way I went.

So that the eighth March, 1559, we departed out of the said city of Boghar, being a caravan of 600 camels. And if we had not departed when we did, I and my company had been in danger to have lost life and goods. For ten days after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an army and besieged the said city of Boghar, the king being absent and gone to the wars against another prince, his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those countries once in two or three years. For it is a marvel if a king reign there above three or four years, to the great destruction of the country and merchants.

The 25th of March we came to the foresaid town of Urgence, and escaped the danger of 400 rovers, which lay in wait for us coming back again, being the most of them of kindred to that company of thieves which we met with in going forth; as we perceived by four spies which were taken.

There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambassadors, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were sent unto the Emperor of Russia. And after having tarried at Urgence, and the Castle of Sellysure, eight days, for the assembling and making ready of our caravan, the second of April we departed from thence, having four more Ambassadors in our company, sent from the king of Urgence, and other Sultans, his brethren, unto the Emperor of Russia, with answer of such letters as I brought them. And the same ambassadors were also committed unto my charge by the said kings and princes; to whom I promised most faithfully, and swore by our law, that they should be well used in Rusland, and suffered to depart from thence again in safety, according as the Emperor had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of Tartaria into Russia, for a long time before.

OF THE ISLAND JAPAN

By R. Willes

1565

The extreme part of the known world unto us is the noble island Giapan, written otherwise Japon and Japan.

This island standeth in the East Ocean, beyond all Asia, betwixt Cathay and the West Indies, six and thirty degrees northward from the equinoctial line, in the same clime with the south part of Spain and Portugal, distant from thence by sea six thousand Leagues. The travel thither, both for civil discord, great piracy and often shipwrecks, is very dangerous.

This country is hilly and pestered with snow, wherefore it is neither so warm as Portugal, nor yet so wealthy, so far as we can learn, wanting oil, butter, cheese, milk, eggs, sugar, honey, vinegar, saffron, cinnamon, and pepper. Barley-bran the Islanders do use instead of salt. Medicinable things wholesome for the body they have none. Nevertheless, in that island sundry fruits do grow, not much unlike the fruits of Spain; and great store of silver mines are therein to be seen.

The people are tractable, civil, witty, courteous, without deceit, in virtue and honest conversation exceeding all other nations lately discovered, but so

much standing upon their reputation, that their chief idol may be thought Honour. The contempt thereof causeth among them much discord and debate, manslaughter and murder. Even for their reputation they do honour their parents, keep their promises, abstain from robbery, punishing by death the least theft committed: holding for a principle that whosoever stealeth a trifle, will, if he see occasion, steal a greater thing. It may be that theft is so severely punished by them, for that the nation is oppressed with scarcity of all things necessary, and so poor, that even for misery they strangle their own children, preferring death to want. These fellows neither eat nor kill any fowl. They live chiefly by fish, herbs and fruits, so healthfully, that they die very old.

Of rice and wheat there is no great store. No man is ashamed there of his poverty, neither be their gentlemen therefore less honoured of the meaner people, neither will the poorest gentleman there match his child with the baser sort for any gain, so much they do make more account of gentry than of wealth.

The greatest delight they have is in armour: each boy at fourteen years of age, be he born gentle or otherwise, hath his sword and dagger. Very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in comparison of their manhood and prowess, submitting to no injury, however small, in word or deed, amongst themselves.

They feed moderately, but they drink largely. The use of vines they know not; their drink they make of rice. Utterly they do abhor dice and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man, than to give

himself unto those things that make us greedy and desirous to get other men's goods. If at any time they do swear, for that seldom they are wont to do, they swear by the Sun.

Each one is contented with one wife. They be all desirous to learn, and naturally inclined to honesty and courtesy. Godly talk they listen to willingly, especially when they understand it thoroughly.

GEORGE FENNER'S VOYAGE TO GUINEA

WRITTEN BY WALTER WREN

1567

I

THE TREACHERY OF THE NEGROES

THERE went ashore the Admiral's skiff, and the Mayflower's boat, and in them the number of twenty persons or thereabouts, as Mr. George Fenner the General, his brother Mr. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, John Worme and Francis Leigh, merchants, John Hayward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, John Tomson and others.

At their coming to the shore there were 100 Negroes or upward, with their bows and arrows. Our Captains and merchants talked with them, and according to the use of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, and they were content to deliver three of their Negroes for five of our men. Our five men's names were these:—John Hayward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Joh. Tompson, and John Curtise. These were delivered them, and we received three Negroes into our Admiral's skiff.

Our men being ashore among the Negroes, began

to talk with them, declaring what ware and merchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linen cloth, iron, cheese and other things. The Negroes answered again, they had civet, musk, gold and grains, which pleased our Captains and merchants very well. Then the Negroes desired to have a sight of some of our wares, to the which our merchants were content, and forthwith sent aboard one of the boats for part of their merchandize, and in the mean time, while the boat went to the ship, our five men were walking on the shore with the Negroes, and our General and merchants stayed in the other boat by the sea-side, having the three Negroes with them.

Our boat then came again and brought iron and other merchandize, with bread, wine, and cheese, which they gave unto them. Then two of the Negroes (which were the pledges) made themselves sick, desiring to go ashore, promising to send other two for them. Captain Hayward, perceiving that our men had let the Negroes come ashore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to draw toward the boat, and two or three of the Negroes followed him. And when he came to the boat they began to stay him, and he made signs unto them that he would fetch them more drink and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boat, one of them caught him by the breeches, and would have stayed him, but he sprang from him and leapt into the boat, and as soon as he was in, one of the Negroes ashore began to blow a pipe, and presently, the other Negro that was in our boat, sitting on the boat's side, with Master Worme's sword by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabbard,

and cast himself into the sea and swam ashore; and presently the Negroes laid hands on our men that were on shore, and took three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparel from their backs, and left them nothing to cover them, and many of them shot so thickly at our men in our boats, that they could scarce set hand to any oar to row from the shore; yet (by the help of God) they got from them with their boats, although many of them were hurt with their poisoned arrows. And the poison is incurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and draw blood, and except the poison be presently sucked out, or the place where any man is hurt be forthwith cut away, he dieth within four days; and within three hours after they are hurt or pricked, wheresoever it is, although but at the little toe, yet it striketh up to the heart, and taketh away the stomach, and causeth the party marvellously to vomit, being able to brook neither meat nor drink.

The Negroes having used our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day and William Bats, led them away to a town which was within a mile of the water, or thereabout. The twentieth day we sent to land a boat or skiff wherein were eight persons, and one of them was the foresaid John Tomson, and our interpreter which was a Frenchman (for there was one of the Negroes which spake good French) and they carried with them two arquebusses, two targets and a mantle.

The cause of sending them was to learn what ransom they demanded for Bats and Day, whom they detained. And when they came to the shore and told the Negroes what they desired, they went and

fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among forty or fifty of them.

And being come within a stone's cast of the sea-side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soon in the water but he fell down, either being out of breath, or his foot failing him in the sand, being soft: so that the Negroes came and fell on him and took him, and haled him, that we thought they had torn him in pieces: for they tore again all the apparel from his back, so that some of them carried our men again to the town, and the rest shot at us with poisoned arrows, and hurt one of our men called Andrews in the small of the leg, who being come aboard (for all that our surgeons could do) we thought he would have died.

Our General (notwithstanding all this villainy) sent again to them, and offered anything that they desired for the ransom of our men, but they would not deliver them, giving us this answer: That there was in the foresaid road, three weeks before we came, an English ship which had taken three of their people, and until we did bring or send them again we should not have our men, although we would give our three ships with their furniture.

The 21st day, a French ship of the burden of 80 tons (or thereabouts), came to the place where we were, being bound to traffic at the Cape. We told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negroes; and seeing that these Frenchmen were very welcome to the Negroes, we wished them to see whether they could procure them again of the Negroes, and bring them along with them, and our General promised the

Frenchmen a hundred pounds to obtain them. So we committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men who were hurt by the Negroes' arrows, four died, and one to save his life, had his arm cut off. Andrews, that was last of all hurt, lay lame, not able to help himself. Only two recovered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the room of those that we lost, and set sail.

II

THE FIGHT WITH THE SEVEN PORTUGALS

The eighth day of May, 1567, we came to Tercera, where we met with a Portugal ship, and being destitute of a cable and anchor, our General caused us to keep her company, to see if she could conveniently spare us any. The next morning we might see bearing with us a great ship and two caravels, which we judged to be of the king of Portugal's Armada, and so they were, whereupon we prepared ourselves for our defence. The said ship was one of the king's galliasses, about the burden of four hundred tons, with about three hundred men in her, the ship being well appointed with brass pieces both great and small, and some of them so big that their shot was as great as a man's head. The other two caravels were also very warlike and well appointed, both with men and munition.

As soon as they were within shot of us they waved us amain with their swords, we keeping our course. The greatest ship shot at us freely and the caravel

also, and we prepared ourselves and made all things clear for our safeguard as near as we could.

Then the great ship shot at us all her broadside, and her four greatest pieces that lay in her stern, and therewith hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other caravels came off the shore, and two other pinnaces full of men, and delivered them aboard the great ship, and so went back again with two men in each of them. The ship and the caravel gave us the first day three fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet notwithstanding kept hard by us all the night. In the meantime we had as much as we could do all the night to mend our ropes and to strengthen our bulwarks, putting our trust in God, and resolving ourselves rather to die in our defence than to be taken by such wretches.

The next day, being the tenth of May, in the morning there were come to aid the said Portugals four great Armadas or caravels more, which made seven; of these four three were at the least a hundred tons apiece, the other not so big, but all well appointed and full of men. All these together came bearing with us, we being in our admiral, and one of the great caravels came to lay us aboard (as we judged), for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose, so that the galliass came up in our larboard side, and the caravel in our starboard.

Our captain and master perceiving their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordnance ready with crossbars, chainshot and hailshot. So the ship and caravel came up, and as soon as they were right

in our sides, they shot at us as much ordnance as they could, thinking to have laid us presently aboard. Whereupon we gave them such a heat with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall astern of us, and so paused the space of two or three hours, there being a very small gale of wind.

Then came up the other five and shot all at us, and so fell all astern of us, and then went to council together.

Then our small bark called the George came to us, and we conferred together a great space. And as the Portugal ships and caravels were coming to us again, our bark minding to fall astern of us and so to come up again, fell quickly upon the lee; and by reason of the little wind, it was so long before she could fill her sails again that both the ship and caravels were come up to us, and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got ahead of her, so that she could not fetch us. Then five of the caravels followed her, but we saw she defended herself against them all.

Then came the great ship and the caravel to us, and fought with us all that day with their ordnance.

The Mayflower, our other consort, being very good by the wind, took the benefit thereof and haled all that day close by the wind, but could not come near us. So when night again was come, they gave over their fight, and followed us all the night.

In these many fights it could not otherwise be but needs some of our men must be slain, as they were indeed, and divers hurt, and our tackle much spoiled. Yet for all this we did our best endeavour to repair

FENNER AND THE SEVEN PORTUGALS

all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercy and help of God.

This night the Mayflower came up to us, and our captain told them his harms and spoils, and wished them if they could spare half a dozen fresh men to hoise out their boat and send them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away again. And when our enemies saw in the next morning that we were one from another, they came up to us again and gave us a great fight with much hallooing and whooping, making account either to board us or else to sink us. But although our company was but small, yet lest they should see us any whit dismayed, when they hallooed we hallooed also as fast as they, and waved to them to come and board us if they durst; but that they would not, seeing us still so courageous. And having given us that day four fights, at night they forsook us with shame, as they came to us at the first with pride.

They had made in our ship some leaks with their shot, which we again stopped with all speed, and that being done, we took some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the Mayflower came to us, and brought us six men in her boat, which did us much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men. Then we directed our course for our own country, and by the second day of June we were near to our own coast, and sounded, being thwart the Lizard.

THE VOYAGE OF JOHN HAWKINS TO MEXICO

1568

[On Sept. 16th, 1568, John Hawkins arrived at San Juan de Ullua from the African coast, and sent a message up to Mexico to the Viceroy advising him of his arrival and asking that he would furnish him with victuals and quietly suffer them to repair and amend their ships.]

THE next morning, being the seventeenth of the same month, we descried thirteen sail of great ships, and after that our General understood that it was the King of Spain's fleet there looked for, he presently sent to advertise the General hereof, of our being in the said port, and giving him further to understand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should pass between the two Generals some orders and conditions to be observed on either part, for the better continuing of peace between them and theirs, according to our General's request made unto the Viceroy.

And at this instant our General was in a great perplexity of mind, considering with himself that if he should keep out that fleet from entering into the port, a thing which he was very well able to do with the help of God, then should that fleet be in danger of present shipwreck and loss of all their substance,

which amounted unto the value of one million and eight hundred thousand pounds. Again he saw that if he suffered them to enter, he was assured that they would practise by all manner of means to betray him and his, and on the other side the haven was so little, that the other fleet entering, the ships were to ride one hard aboard of another. Also he saw that if their fleet should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessity they must if he should have done so, then stood he in great fear of the Queen our Sovereign's displeasure in so weighty a cause.

Therefore did he choose the least evil, which was to suffer them to enter under assurance, and so to stand upon his guard, and to defend himself and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise. And so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the new Viceroy, who came in the same fleet, and had sufficient authority to command in all cases both by sea and by land in this province of Mexico or New Spain, did certify our General, that for the better maintenance of amity between the King of Spain and our Sovereign, all our requests should be both favourably granted and faithfully performed: signifying further that he heard and understood of the honest and friendly dealing of our General toward the King of Spain's subjects in all places where he had been, as also in the said port. So that, to be brief, our requests were articled, and set down in writing, viz:

(1) The first was that we might have victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares as might suffice to furnish our wants.

(2) The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repair our ships.

(3) The third, that the island might be in our possession during the time of our abode there.

In which island our General for the better safety of him and his, had already planted and placed certain ordnance which were eleven pieces of brass, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no Spaniard should come to land in the said island, having or wearing any kind of weapon about him.

(4) The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelve gentlemen of credit be delivered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed upon in writing by the Viceroy, and signed with his hand, and sealed with his seal, and ten hostages upon either part were received. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meet and give faith each to other for the performance of the premisses. All which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, and commandment was given that none of either part should violate or break the peace upon pain of death. Thus at the end of three days all was concluded, and the fleet entered the port, the ships saluting one another as the manner of the sea doth require.

The morrow after, being Friday, we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselves, and the Spanish ships by themselves, the Captains and inferior persons of either part offering and showing great courtesy one to another, and promising

great amity upon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel showed, the Spaniards meant nothing less upon their parts. For the Viceroy and Governor thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of a thousand chosen men and well appointed, meaning the next Thursday, being the 24th of September, at dinner time to assault us, and set upon us on all sides.

But before I go any further, I think it not amiss briefly to describe the manner of the island as it then was, and the force and strength that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our General's being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, have upon the same island built a fair castle and bulwark very well fortified. This port was then at our being there a little island of stones, not past three foot above water in the highest place, and not past a bowshot over any way at the most, and it standeth from the mainland two bowshots or more. And there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arrive at; also the north winds in this coast are of great violence and force, and unless the ships be safely moored in, with their anchors fastened in this island, there is no remedy but present destruction and shipwreck. All this our General wisely foreseeing, did provide that he would have the said island in his custody, or else the Spaniards might at their pleasure have cut our cables, and so with the first north-wind that blew we had had our passport, for our ships had gone ashore. But to return to the matter.

The time approaching that their treason must be put in practice, the same Thursday morning some appearance thereof began to show itself, as shifting of

weapons from ship to ship, and planting and bending their ordnance against our men that warded upon the land, with great repair of people; which apparent shows of breach of the Viceroy's faith caused our General to send one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gave order that the ordnance aforesaid, and other things of suspicion, should be removed, returning answer to our General in the faith of a Viceroy, that he would be our defence and safety from all villainous treachery: this was upon Thursday in the morning.

Our General not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conveyed a great number of men aboard a great hulk or ship of theirs of six hundred tons, which ship rode hard by the Minion, he sent again to the Viceroy Robert Barret the master of the Jesus, a man that could speak the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might be unshipped again, which were in that great hulk.

The Viceroy then perceiving that their treason was thoroughly espied, stayed our master and sounded the trumpet, and gave order that his people should upon all sides charge upon our men which warded on shore and elsewhere, which struck such amaze and sudden fear among us that many gave place, and sought to recover our ships for the safety of themselves.

The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at land were quickly conveyed over to the island in their long boats, and so coming to the island they slew all our men that they could meet with, without mercy. The Minion, which had somewhat before

prepared herself to avoid the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt of the three hundred men that were in the great hulk. Then they sought to fall aboard the Jesus, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slain. But yet our men defended themselves and kept them out; so the Jesus also got loose, and joining with the Minion, the fight waxed hot upon all sides, but they having won and got our ordnance on shore, did greatly annoy us.

In this fight there were two great ships of the Spaniards sunk, and one burnt; so that with their ships they were not able to harm us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our own ordnance, in such sort that the Jesus was very sore spoiled. And suddenly the Spaniards having fired two great ships of their own, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marvellous fear. Howbeit the Minion which had made her sails ready, shifted for herself, without consent of the General, captain or master, so that very hardly our General could be received into the Minion.

The most of our men that were in the Jesus shifted for themselves, and followed the Minion in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receive were most cruelly slain by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped saving the Minion and the Judith; and all such of our men as were not in them were enforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certain truth, that whereas they had taken certain of our men ashore, they took and hung them up by the arms upon high posts until the blood burst out of their fingers' ends; of which men so used, there is one Copstow, and certain others

yet alive, who by the merciful providence of the Almighty, were long since arrived here at home in England, carrying still about with them (and shall to their graves) the marks and tokens of those inhuman and more than barbarous cruel dealings.

THE CITY OF MEXICO

HENRY HAWKS

1572

MEXICO is a great city; it hath more than fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past five or six thousand houses of Spaniards; all the others are people of the country, which live under the Spaniards' laws. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friars and nuns, which the Spaniards have made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautiful outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windows, which is not so comely as the building of the Spaniards.

This city standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth through all or the most part of the streets, and there come small boats, which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coals, and grass for their horses, stones and lime to build, and corn.

This city is subject to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast down houses, and kill people. This city is very well provided of water to drink, and with all manner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hens and capons, Guinea cocks and hens, and

all other fowl. There are in this city every week three fairs or markets, which are frequented with many people, as well Spaniards as the people of the country. There are in these fairs or markets all manner of things that may be invented, to sell, and in especial things of the country. The one of these fairs is upon the Monday, which is called S. Hypolito's fair, and S. James his fair is upon the Thursday, and upon Saturday is S. John's fair.

In this city is always the King's Governor or Viceroy, and there are kept the terms and parliaments. And although there be other places of justice, yet this is above all: so that all men may appeal unto this place, and may not appeal from this city, but only unto Spain before the King; and it must be for a certain sum; and if it be under that sum, then there is no appellation from them.

Many rivers fall into this lake which the city standeth in; but there was never any place found whither it goeth out. The Indians know a way to drown the city, and within these three years they would have practised the same; but they which should have been the doers of it were hanged, and ever since the city hath been well watched both day and night, for fear lest at some time they might be deceived; for the Indians love not the Spaniards.

Round about the town there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the country, marvellous fair, where the people have great recreation.

There are near about this city of Mexico many rivers and standing waters, which have in them a monstrous kind of fish, which is marvellous ravening, and a great devourer of men and cattle. He is wont

to sleep upon the dry land many times, and if there come in the meantime any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. He is like unto a serpent, saving that he doth not fly, neither hath he wings.

There is west out of Mexico a port town which is on the South Sea, called Puerto de Acapulco, whereat there are ships which they have ordinarily for the navigation of China, which they have newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico.

AN AMBASSADOR'S TRAVELS

The names of such countries as I Anthony Jenkinson have travelled unto, from the second of October 1546, at which time I made my first voyage out of England, until the Year of our Lord 1572, when I returned last out of Russia.

FIRST, I passed into Flanders, and travelled through all the Base Countries, and from thence through Germany, passing over the Alps I travelled into Italy, and from thence made my journey through Piedmont into France, throughout all which realm I have thoroughly journeyed.

I have also travelled through the Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. I have sailed through the Levant Seas every way, and have been in all the chief Islands within the same Sea—as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candia, and divers others. I have been in many parts of Greece, Morea, Achaia, and where the old city of Corinth stood.

I have travelled through a great part of Turkey, Syria, and divers other countries in Asia Minor.

I have passed over the mountains of Libanus to Damascus, and travelled through Samaria, Galilee, Philistine or Palestine, unto Jerusalem, and so through all the Holy Land.

ARCTIC SEA
North Cape
Lofoten Is.
Rost
FINMARK
Colgoieve I.
Waigats I.
LAPLAND
SAMOGITIA
ICELAND
NORWAY
S. Michael
Colmogro
Volodda
PERMIA
VACHIN
Ural Mountains
SIBERIA
MOSCOVY
BRITISH ISLES
Riga
Moscow
NAGAIA
GERMANY
Dantzig
Nuremberg
FRANCE
SHIRVAN
Azores
Bordeaux
Bilboa
Venice
Rome
Naples
TURKEY
BLACK SEA
ARMENIA
BACTRIA
SPAIN
Lisbon
C. Sacre
Gibraltar
Sicily
Malta
Tunis
Tripoli
Morocco
SYRIA
MEDIA
HYRCANIA
PARTHIA
Madeira
Canary Is.
BARBARIA
Jerusalem
PERSIA
EGYPT
ARABIA DESERTA
ARABIA FELIX
C. Blanco
LIBYA INTERIOR
NUBIA
Mecca
Cape Verde
Zocotoro I.
GUINEA
BENIN
R. Cestos
Benin
Goto
S. Thomas I.
CONGO
Melinde
Mozambique
Monomatapa
Cape of Good Hope
EUROPE, AFRICA & A PART OF ASIA

I have been in divers places of Africa, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripoli, the gullet within the Gulf of Tunis.

I have sailed far northward within the Mare Glaciale, where we have had continual day, and sight of the Sun ten weeks together, and that navigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very strange places.

I have travelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperor of Russia and Moscovia, which extend from the North Sea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland even to the Mare Caspium.

I have been in divers countries near upon the Caspian Sea, Gentiles & Mahomedans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheresmisi, Mordoviti, Vachin, Nagaia, with divers others of strange customs and religions.

I have sailed over the Caspian Sea, and discovered all the regions thereabout adjacent, as Chircassi, Comul, Shascal, Shirvan, with many others.

I have travelled forty days' journey beyond the said Sea towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, through divers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through five kingdoms of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and so to the great city of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers sundry times.

After all this in the year 1562, I passed again over the Caspian Sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a city called Derbent, built by Alexander the Great, and from thence travelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Persia, to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamasso, unto whom I delivered letters from the Queen's Majesty, and remained in

his court eight months, and returning home-ward, passed through divers other countries. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Russia, the one, in the year 1566 and the other in 1571.

And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine own house, chiefly comforting myself in that my service hath been honourably accepted, and rewarded of her Majesty and the rest by whom I have been employed.

MARTIN FROBISHER'S FIRST VOYAGE

1576

THE 19th day, in the morning, being calm, and no wind, the Captain and I took our boat, with eight men in her, to row ashore, to see if there were there any people or not, and going to the top of the island, we had sight of seven boats, which came rowing from the East side towards that island: whereupon we returned aboard again. At length we sent our boat with five men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boats with their men along the shore, rowing after our boat, till such time as they saw our ship, and then they rowed ashore.

Then I went on shore myself, and gave every one of them a threadden point, and brought one of them aboard with me, where he did eat and drink, and then carried him ashore again. Whereupon, all the rest came aboard with their boats, being nineteen persons, and they spake, but we understood them not.

They be like to Tartars, having long black hair, broad faces and flat noses, and tawny in colour, wearing seal-skins, and so do the women, not differing the fashion, but the women are marked in the face with blue streaks down the cheeks, and round about the eyes.

Their boats are made of seal-skins, with a keel of

wood within the skin: the proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop, save only they be flat in the bottom, and sharp at both ends.

The 20th day we weighed, and went to the East side of this Island, and I and the Captain with four men more went on shore, and there we saw their houses, and the people espying us, came rowing towards our boat. Whereupon we plied toward our boat; and we being in our boat, and they ashore, they called to us. We rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boat, and we carried him aboard, and gave him a bell and a knife.

So the Captain and I willed five of our men to set him ashore at a rock, and not among the company which they came from, but their wilfulness was such, that they would go to them, and so were taken themselves, and our boat lost.

The next day in the morning we stood in near the shore, and shot off a fauconet and sounded our trumpet, but we could hear nothing of our men. This sound we named the Five Men's Sound, and plied out of it, but anchored again in thirty fathoms and oaze: and riding there all night, in the morning the snow lay a foot thick upon our hatches.

The 22nd day in the morning we weighed, and again went to the place where we lost our men and boat. We had sight of fourteen boats, and some came near us, but we could learn nothing of our men. Among the rest, we enticed one boat to our ship's side, with a bell, and in giving him the bell, we took him and his boat, and so kept him, and so rowed down to Thomas Williams Island, and there anchored all night.

MARTIN FROBISHER'S SECOND VOYAGE

1577

AFTER our General had found good harbour for the ship and barks to anchor in, and also such store of supposed gold ore as he thought himself satisfied with, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master York was Captain, accompanied by our master and his mate; who coasting along the West shore, not far from where the ship rode, they perceived a fair harbour, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof espied two tents of seal-skins, unto which the Captain, our said Master, and other company resorted.

At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountains: nevertheless they went to their tents, where leaving certain trifles of ours, as, glasses, bells, knives and such like things, they departed, not taking anything of theirs except one dog. They did in like manner leave behind them a letter, pen, ink and paper, whereby our men whom the Captain lost the year before, and in that people's custody, might (if any of them were alive) be advertised of our presence and being there.

On the same day, after consultation, all gentlemen and others that could be spared from the ship, under

the conduct and leading of Master Philpot (unto whom in our General's absence, and his Lieutenant Master Best, all the rest were obedient) went ashore, determining to see, if by fair means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of them, and so attain to some knowledge of those men whom our General lost the year before.

At our coming back again to the place where their tents were before, they had removed them further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might, if they were driven from the land, flee with their boats into the sea.

We parting ourselves into two companies, and compassing a mountain, came suddenly upon them by land, who espying us, without any tarrying fled to their boats, leaving the most part of their oars behind them for haste. They rowed down the bay, where our two pinnaces met them, and drove them to shore; but if they had had all their oars, so swift are they in rowing, it had been lost time to have chased them. When they were landed, they fiercely assaulted our men with their bows and arrows, who wounded three of them with our arrows; and perceiving themselves thus hurt, they desperately leapt off the rocks into the sea, and drowned themselves.

Which if they had not done, but had submitted themselves, or if by any means we could have taken them alive (being their enemies as they judged) we would both have saved them, and also have sought remedy to cure their wounds received at our hands. But they, altogether void of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities look for no other than death. Perceiving they should fall into our

hands, thus miserably by drowning rather preferred death than otherwise to be saved by us.

The rest, perceiving their fellows in this distress, fled into the high mountains. Two women, not being so able to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being encumbered with a young child, we took. The old wretch, whom divers of our sailors supposed to be either a devil or a witch, had her buskins plucked off to see if she were cloven-footed, and for her ugly hue and deformity we let her go; the young woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slain, Bloody Point; and the bay or harbour, York's Sound, after the name of one of the Captains of the two Barks.

Having this knowledge both of their fierceness and cruelty, and perceiving that fair means as yet are not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed ourselves, contrary to our inclination, somewhat to be cruel; returned to their tents, and made spoil of the same. There we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shoes of our men whom we lost the year before; on nothing else unto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Their riches are not gold, silver or precious drapery, but their said tents and boats, made of the skins of red-deer and seal. Also dogs like unto wolves, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondered at for their strangeness, than needful for our use.

Thus returning to our ship the third of August we departed from the West shore, supposed firm with America, after we had anchored there thirteen days: and so the fourth we came to our General on the East shore, and anchored in a fair harbour named

Anne Warwick's Sound, unto which is annexed an Island, both named after the Countess of Warwick. In this Isle, our General thought good for this voyage, to freight both the ship and barks with such stone or supposed gold mineral, as he judged to countervail the charges of his first, and this, his second navigation of these countries.

In the meantime of our abode here, some of the country people came to shew themselves unto us sundry times, on the main shore near adjacent to the said Isle. Our General, desirous to have some news of his men whom he lost the year before, with some company repaired with the ship-boat to commune or sign with them for familiarity, whereunto he is persuaded to bring them. They at the first shew made tokens that three out of his five men were alive, and desired pen, ink, and paper, and that within three or four days they would return, and (as we judged) bring those of our men which were living, with them.

They also made signs or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, and how he was carried on men's shoulders, being a man far surpassing any of our company in bigness and stature.

With these tokens and signs of writing, pen, ink and paper was delivered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid upon the shore, and the party gone away, they took up. This they do when they desire anything for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they think will countervail the same, and not coming near together. It seemeth they have been used to this trade or traffic, with some other people adjoining, or not far distant from their country.

After four days, some of them shewed themselves upon the firm land, but not where they were before. Our General, very glad thereof, supposing to hear of our men, went from the island with the boat, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him about a certain point of the land, behind which we might perceive a company of the crafty villains to lie lurking, whom our General would not deal with, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signs dismissed them and returned to his company.

Another time as our said General was coasting the country with two little pinnaces, whereby at our return he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white skin, allured us to them. Once again our General, for that he hoped to hear of his men, went towards them. At our coming near the shore whereon they were, we might perceive a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, and those three in sight labouring by all means possible that some would come on land. And perceiving we made no haste by words nor friendly signs, which they use by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but three in sight, they sought further means to provoke us thereunto.

One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we took up with the boat-hook, as necessary victuals for the relieving of the man, woman, and child whom we had taken; for that as yet they could not digest our meat; whereby they perceived themselves deceived of their expectations, for all their crafty allurements.

Yet once again, to make as it were a full show of their crafty natures and subtle sleights, to the intent

thereby to have entrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himself impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water-side with great difficulty; and to cover his craft the more, one of his fellows came down with him, and in such places where he seemed unable to pass, he took him on his shoulders, set him by the water-side and departed from, leaving him, as it should seem, all alone; who playing his counterfeit pageant very cleverly, thought thereby to provoke some of us to come on shore, not fearing but that one of us might make our party good with a lame man.

Our General having compassion of his impotency, thought good, if it were possible to cure him thereof. Wherefore he caused a soldier to shoot at him with his caliver, which grazed before his face. The counterfeit villain deliverly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrows, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bows, arrows, slings and darts. Our General caused some calivers to be shot off at them, whereby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more fear of us.

This was all the answer for this time we could have of our men, or of our General's letter.

Their crafty dealing at these three several times being thus manifest unto us, may plainly shew their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We judged that they used these stratagems, thereby to have caught some of us, for the delivering of the man, woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large body and good proportion; their colour is not much unlike the sunburnt country man who laboureth daily in the sun for his living.

They wear their hair somewhat long, and cut either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women wear their hair long, and knit up with two loops shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest tangled into a knob. Also some of the women also rase their faces proportionally, as chin, cheeks, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth dark azurine.

They eat their meat all raw, both flesh, fish and fowl, or something parboiled with blood and a little water which they drink. For lack of water, they will eat ice that is hard frozen as pleasantly as we will do sugar-candy or other sugar. If they for necessity's sake stand in need, such grass as the country yieldeth they pluck and eat, not daintily, or as salad to allure their appetite, but for necessity's sake, without either salt, oils, or washing, like brute beasts devouring the same. They neither use table, stool nor table-cloth for comeliness; but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle-deep, and their knives in like sort, they use their tongues as apt instruments to lick them clean, in doing whereof they are assured to lose none of their victuals.

They feed up certain dogs not much unlike wolves, which they yoke together, as we do oxen and horses, to a sled or trail, and so carry their necessaries over the ice and snow from place to place, as the captive whom we have, made perfect signs. And when those dogs are not apt for the same use, or when with hunger they are constrained for lack of other victuals, they eat them: so they are as needful for them in respect of their bigness, as our oxen are for us.

They apparel themselves in the skins of such

beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinews of them. All the fowl which they kill, they skin and make thereof one kind of garment or other, to defend them from the cold. They make their apparel with hoods and tails, which tails they give when they think to gratify any friendship showed unto them.

The men have them not so wide as the women. The men and women wear their hose close to their legs from the waist to the knee, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legs they wear hose of leather, with the fur side inward, two or three pairs on at once, and especially the women.

In those hose they put their knives, needles and other things needful to bear about.

They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foot to the knee, on which they draw their hose, and so in place of garters, they are held from falling down about their feet. They dress their skins very soft and supple with the hair on. In cold weather or winter, they wear the fur side inward, but in summer outward. Other apparel they have none but the said skins. Those beasts, fishes and fowls, which they kill, are their meat, drink, apparel, houses, bedding, hose, shoes, thread, and sails for their boats, with many other necessaries whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

Their houses are tents made of seal-skins, pitched up with four fir quarters, four-square, meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinews and laid thereon. They are so pitched that the entrance into them is always south or against the sun. They have other sorts of houses, which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and whale-

bones, and a skin laid over them, to withstand the rain or other weather; the entrance to them being not much unlike an oven's mouth. Thereto I think, they resort for a time, to fish, hunt and fowl, and so leave them until the next time they come thither again.

Their weapons are bows, arrows, darts and slings. Their bows are of wood, of a yard long, sinewed at the back with strong sinews, not glued, but fast girded and tied on.

Their bow-strings are likewise sinews. Their arrows are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone; with these two ends and the wood in the midst they pass not in length half a yard, or little more. They are feathered with two feathers, the pen end being cut away, and the feathers laid upon the arrow with the broad side to the wood, insomuch that they seem when they are tied on, to have four feathers. They have also three sorts of heads to those arrows: one sort of stone or iron, fashioned like to a heart: the second of bone, much like unto a stopped head, with a hook on the same: the third also of bone, made sharp at both sides, and sharp pointed.

They are not very fast, but lightly tied to, or else set in a nock, that upon small occasion the arrows leave these heads behind them; and they are of small force, except they be very near when they shoot. Their darts are made of two sorts: the one with many forks of bones in the fore end, and likewise in the midst: their proportions are not much unlike our toasting irons, but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is

greater, with a long bone made sharp on both sides, not much unlike a rapier, which I take to be their most hurtful weapon.

They have two sorts of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tied together with thongs of the same. The greater sort are like our wherries, wherein 16 or 20 men may sit. For a sail they have dressed the entrails of such beasts as they kill, very fine and thin, which they sew together. The other boat is but for one man to sit and row in with one oar. Their order of fishing, hunting and fowling are with these weapons, but in what manner, or how they use them, we have no perfect knowledge as yet. I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for neither their house nor apparel are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold that the country seemeth to be infected with.

Those houses or rather dens, which stand there, have no sign of foot-way, or anything else trodden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tents which they bring with them, when they have sufficiently hunted and fished, they remove to other places; and when they have sufficiently stored them with such goods as the country yieldeth or bringeth forth, they return to their winter stations or habitation.

They have some iron, of which they make arrow-heads, knives and other little instruments to work their boats, bows, arrows, and darts, which are very unapt to do anything with, except with great labour.

It seemeth that they have conversation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should

receive the same. They are greatly delighted with anything that is bright, or that giveth a sound.

What knowledge they have of God, or what idol they adore, we have no perfect intelligence. I think them rather anthropophagi, or devourers of man's flesh; for there is no flesh or fish which they find dead but they will eat it as they find it without any dressing. A loathsome thing either to the beholders or hearers.

There is no manner of creeping beast hurtful, except some spiders (which as many affirm are signs of great store of gold) and also certain stinging gnats, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth and itcheth very sore.

They make signs of certain people that wear bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

MARTIN FROBISHER'S THIRD VOYAGE

1578

AT the first entering into the ice in the mouth of the Straits, our passage was very narrow and difficult, but being once in, we had a fair open place without any ice for the most part, being a league in compass, the ice being round about us, and enclosing us, as it were, within the pales of a park. In which place, because it was almost night, we minded to take in our sails and lie ahull all that night.

But the storm so increased, and the waves began to mount aloft, which brought the ice so near us, and came on so fast upon us, that we were fain to bear in and out where we might espy an open space. Thus the ice coming on so fast, we were in great danger, looking every hour for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both ourselves and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the ice, that it would make the strongest heart to relent.

At last, the bark Dionyse, being but a weak ship, and bruised afore amongst the ice, being so leak that no longer she could tarry above the water, sank without saving any of the goods which were within her. This sight so abashed the whole fleet, that we thought

verily we should have tasted of the same sauce. Nevertheless, seeing them in such danger, we manned our boats, and saved all the men, in such wise that not one perished: God be thanked.

The storm still increased, and the ice enclosed us, so that we were fain to take down top and top-masts; for the ice had so environed us that we could see neither land nor sea, as far as we could ken: so that we were fain to cut our cables to hang over-board for fenders somewhat to ease the ships' sides from the great and dreary strokes of the ice: some with capstan bars, some fending off with oars, some with planks of two inches thick, which were broken immediately with the force of the ice: some going out upon the ice to bear it off with their shoulders from the ships. But the rigour of the tempest was such, and the force of the ice so great, that not only they burst and spoiled the foresaid provision, but likewise so razed the sides of the ships that it was pitiful to behold, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

Thus we continued all that dismal and lamentable night, plunged in perplexity, looking for instant death: but our God (who never leaveth them destitute which faithfully call upon him, although he often punisheth for amendment's sake) in the morning caused the winds to cease, and the fog which all that night lay on the face of the water to clear: so that we might perceive about a mile from us, a certain place clear from any ice, to the which with an easy breath of wind, which our God sent, we bent ourselves.

And furthermore, he provided better for us than we deserved or hoped for. For when we were in the foresaid clear place, he sent us a fresh gale at W. or

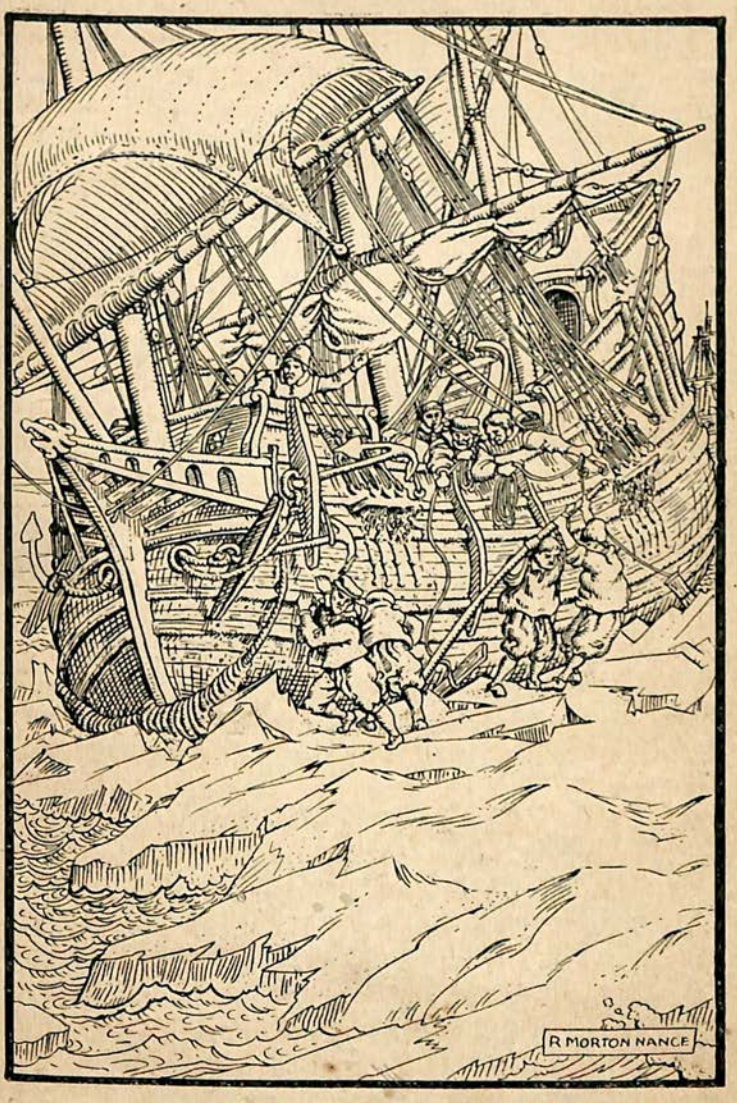
at W.S.W. which set us clear without all the ice. And further he added more: for he sent us so pleasant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment consolation.

Thus we joyful wights being at liberty, took in all our sails, and lay ahull, praising God for our deliverance, and stayed to gather together our fleet: which once being done, seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, save only they of whom I spake before, we at last hoised our sails, and lay bulting off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the ice that we might get into the Straits.

And as we thus lay off and on, we came by a marvellous huge mountain of ice, which surpassed all the rest that ever we saw: for we judged it to be nearly four score fathoms above water, and we thought it to be a ground, being there nine score fathoms deep, and of compass about half a mile.

Also the fifth of July there fell a hideous fog and mist, that continued till the nineteenth of the same, so that one ship could not see another. Therefore we were fain to bear a small sail and to observe the time; but there ran such a current of tide that it set us to the N.W. of the Queen's Foreland, at the back of all the Straits: where, through the contagious fog having no sight either of sun or star, we scarce knew where we were. In this fog the tenth of July we lost the company of the Vice-Admiral, the Anne Francis, the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

The 16th day, one of our small Barkes named the Gabriel was sent by our General to bear in with the land to descry it, where being on land, they met with



FROBISHER'S BARK IN THE ICE

the people of the country, who seemed very humane and civil, and offered to traffic with our men, proffering them fowls and skins, for knives and other trifles; whose courtesies caused us to think that they had small conversation with other of the Straits.

Then we bare back again to go with the Queen's Foreland, and the 18th day we came by two islands, whereon we went ashore, and found where the people had been: but we saw none of them. This day we were again in the ice, and like to be in as great peril as we were at the first. For through the darkness and obscurity of the foggy mist, we were almost run on rocks and islands before we saw them.

But God miraculously provided for us, opening the fogs that we might see clearly both where and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape; or else without fail we had ruinously run upon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our instant case we cast about to get again on sea-board, which by night we obtained, and praised God. The clear continued scarce an hour, but the fog fell again as thick as ever it was.

Then the Rear-Admiral and the Bear got themselves clear without danger of ice and rocks, struck their sails, and lay ahull, staying to have the rest of the fleet come forth, which as yet had not found the right way to clear themselves from the danger of rocks and ice, until the next morning, at what time the Rear-Admiral discharged certain warning pieces, to give notice that she had escaped, and that the rest, by following, might set themselves free, which they did that day.

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Then having gathered ourselves together, we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off, and keeping distant from the coast till the 19th day of July, at which time the fogs brake up and dispersed, so that we might plainly and clearly behold the pleasant air which so long had been taken from us, by the obscurity of the foggy mists. And after that time we were not much encumbered therewith, until we left the confines of the country.

THE ESCAPE OF JOHN FOX

The worthy enterprise of John Fox an Englishman, in delivering two hundred and sixty-six Christians out of the captivity of the Turks at Alexandria, January 3rd 1577.

AMONG our merchants here in England, it is a common voyage to traffic into Spain: whereunto a ship, being called the Three Half Moons, manned with thirty-eight men, and well fenced with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withal, and having wind and tide, set from Portsmouth in 1563, and bended her journey toward Seville, a city in Spain, intending there to traffic with them. And falling near the Straits, they perceived themselves to be beset round with eight galleys of the Turks, in such wise, that there was no way for them to fly, or escape away, but that either they must yield or else be sunk.

Which the owner perceiving, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to shew their manhood, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies', requesting them also, not to faint in seeing such a heap of their enemies ready to devour them: putting them in mind also, that if it were God's pleasure to give them into their enemies' hands, it was not they that ought to shew one displeasant look or countenance thereagainst; but to take it patiently, and not to prescribe a day and time for

their deliverance; as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themselves under His mercy.

And again, if it were His mind and goodwill to shew His mighty power by them, if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands; putting them likewise in mind of the old and ancient worthiness of their countrymen, who in the hardest extremities have always most prevailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and when it hath been almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath been the valiantness of our countrymen, and such hath been the mighty power of our God.

With other like encouragements, exhorting them to behave themselves manfully, they all fell on their knees, making their prayers briefly unto God: who being all risen up again perceived their enemies by their signs and defiances bent to the spoil, whose mercy was nothing but cruelty, whereupon every man took him to his weapon.

Then stood up one Grove the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding them up in defiance against his enemies.

So likewise stood up the owner, the Master's mate, boatswain, purser, and every man well appointed.

Now likewise sounded up the drums, trumpets, and flutes, which would have encouraged any man, had he never so little heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge John Foxe the gunner, in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turks, who likewise bestowed their pieces thrice as fast towards the Christians. But shortly they drew near, so that the bowmen fell to their charge in sending

forth their arrows so thick amongst the galleys, and also in doubling their shot so sore upon the galleys, that there were twice as many of the Turks slain, as the number of the Christians were in all.

But the Turks discharged twice as fast against the Christians, and so long, that the ship was very sorely stricken and bruised under water. Which the Turks perceiving, made the more haste to come aboard the ship: which ere they could do, many a Turk bought it dearly, with the loss of their lives. Yet all was in vain, and boarded they were, where they found so hot a skirmish, that it had been better they had not meddled with the feast.

For the Englishmen shewed themselves men in deed, working manfully with their brown bills and halberds: where the owner, master, boatswain, and their company stood to it so lustily, that the Turks were half dismayed. But chiefly the boatswain shewed himself valiant above the rest, for he fared amongst the Turks like a wood lion; for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turks, which brake his whistle asunder, and smote him in the breast, so that he fell down, bidding them farewell, and to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewise to win praise by death, rather than to live captives in misery and shame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to have done, as it appeared by their skirmish: but the press and store of the Turks was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so over-pressed, that they could not wield their weapons; by reason whereof, they must needs be taken, which none of them intended to have been,

but rather to have died, excepting the master's mate, who shrunk from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valour of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellows, nor having respect to the miseries whereunto he should be subjected. But in fine, so it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cause to rejoice or triumph.

Then would it have grieved any hard heart to see these infidels so violently entreating the Christians, not having any respect of their manhood, which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their own state, how they might have met with such a booty, as might have given them the over-throw. But no remorse hereof, or any thing else doth bridle their fierce and tyrannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the galleys, to serve in new offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled over their ears, and torn from their backs, and they set to the oars.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now under their enemies' raging stripes. I think there is no man will judge their fare good, or their bodies unladen of stripes, and not pestered with too much heat, and also with too much cold: but I will to my purpose, which is, to shew the end of those, being in mere misery, which continually call upon God with a steadfast hope that he will deliver them, and with a sure faith that he can do it.

Nigh to the city of Alexandria, being a haven town, and under the dominion of the Turks, there is a road, being made very fensible with strong walls, whereinto the Turks do customably bring their galleys

on shore every year, in the winter season, and there do trim them, and lay them up against the spring time. In which road there is a prison, where the captives, and such prisoners as serve in the galleys, are put for all that time, until the seas be calm and passable for the galleys, every prisoner being most grievously laden with irons on their legs, to their great pain and sore disabling them. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the winter season.

But ere it was long, the master and the owner by means of friends were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the misery, while they were all (through ill usage and worse fare) miserably starved, saving one John Fox, who, (as some men can abide harder and more misery than other some can, so can some likewise make more shift, and work more devices to help their state and living, than other some can do,) being somewhat skilful in the craft of a barber, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meal. Insomuch till at the last God sent him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, so that he had leave to go in and out to the road at his pleasure, paying a certain stipend unto the keeper, and wearing a lock about his leg; which liberty likewise, six more had upon like sufferance, who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would work the Turks any mischief, had liberty to go in and out at the said road, in such manner as this John Fox did, with irons on their legs, and to return again at night.

In the year of our Lord 1577, in the winter season,

the galleys haply coming to their accustomed harbour, and being discharged of all their masts, sails, and other such furnitures, as unto galleys do appertain, and all the masters and mariners of them being then nested in their own homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had been taken by the Turks' force, and were of sixteen sundry nations.

Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named John Fox of Woodbridge in Suffolk, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich, in the county of Essex. Which John Fox having been thirteen or fourteen years under their gentle entreatance, and being too weary thereof, minding his escape, weighed with himself by what means it might be brought to pass: and continually pondering with himself thereof, took a good heart unto him, in hope that God would not be always scourging His children, and never ceased to pray Him to further his intended enterprise, if that it should redound to His glory.

Not far from the road, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the city, there was a certain victualling house, which one Peter Unticaro had hired, paying also a certain fee unto the keeper of the road. This Peter Unticaro was a Spaniard born, and a Christian, and had been prisoner about thirty years; and never practised any means to escape, but kept himself quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracy; until that now this John Fox, using much thither, they brake one to another their minds, concerning the restraint of their liberty, and imprisonment.

So that this John Fox, at length opening unto this Unticaro the device which he would fain put in practice, made privy one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter at such times as they could compass to meet together: insomuch, that at seven weeks' end they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased God to further them thereto. Who making five more privy to this their device, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereunto the same John Fox, and Peter Unticaro, and the other six appointed to meet all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December; where this John Fox certified the rest of the prisoners what their intent and device was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to pass; who thereunto persuaded them without much ado, to further their device. Which the same John Fox seeing, delivered to them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose by means of Peter Unticaro, charging them that every man should be ready discharged of his irons by eight o'clock the next night.

On the next night, this said John Fox and his six other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Unticaro; passing the time away in mirth for fear of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practice their device, sent Peter Unticaro to the Master of the road, in the name of one of the Masters of the City, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first; who desired him to take the pains to meet him there, promising him that he

would bring him back again. The keeper agreed to go with him, willing the warders not to bar the gate, saying that he would not stay long, but would come again with all speed.

In the mean season, the other seven had provided them with such weapons as they could get in that house; and John Fox took an old rusty sword-blade without either hilt or pommel, which he made to serve his turn, in bending the hand end of the sword, instead of a pommel, and the others had such spits and glaives as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come unto the house, and perceiving no light, nor hearing any noise, straightway suspected the matter; and returning backward, John Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped forth unto him. Who perceiving it to be John Fox, said: "O Fox what have I deserved of thee, that thou should'st seek my death?" "Thou villain (quoth Fox) a blood-sucker of many a Christian's blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my hands." Wherewith he lifted up his bright shining sword of ten years' rust, and struck him so main a blow, as therewith his head clave asunder, so that he fell stark dead to the ground.

Then marched they toward the road, whereinto they entered softly, where were six warders, whom one of them asked, saying, "Who was there?" Quoth Fox and his company, "All friends." Which when they were all within, proved contrary; for quoth Fox, "My masters, here is not to every man a man, wherefore look you play your parts."

Who so behaved themselves in deed, that they had despatched these six quickly. Then John Fox in-

tending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to work surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a cannon against it. Then entered they into the gaoler's lodge, where they found the keys of the fortress and prison by his bed-side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in ducats, which this Peter Unticaro, and two more, opening, stuffed themselves as full as they could, between their shirts and their skin. But John Fox would not once touch it, and said that it was his and their liberty which he sought for, to the honour of his God, and not to make a mart of the wicked treasure of the infidels. Yet did these words sink nothing into their hearts, they did it for a good intent. So did Saul save the fattest oxen, to offer unto the Lord, and they to serve their own turn.

But neither did Saul escape the wrath of God therefore, neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirst after. Such is God's justice. He that they put their trust in, to deliver them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, He, I say, could supply their want of necessaries.

Now these eight, being armed with such weapons that they thought well of, thinking themselves sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemy, and coming unto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doors thereof, and called forth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming up the gate, some to the dressing up of a certain galley, which was the best in all the road, and was called the Captain of Alexandria; whereinto some carried masts, sails, oars, and other such furniture as doth belong to a galley.

At the prison were certain warders, whom John Fox and his company slew, in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turks, which perceived them, and got them to the top of the prison: unto whom John Fox and his company were fain to come by ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were slain, some wounded, and some but scared, and not hurt. As John Fox was thrice shot through his apparel, and not hurt, Peter Unticaro and the other two, that had armed them with ducats, were slain, as not able to wield themselves, being so pestered with the weight and uneasy carrying of the wicked and profane treasure. And also divers Christians were hurt as well about that skirmish, as Turks slain.

Among the Turks was one thrust through, who, let us not say that it was ill fortune, fell off from the top of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stood a house or two) came and dawed him, so that they understood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransoms: wherewith they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the road, and a castle which was at the city's end, next to the road, and also another fortress which lay on the North side of the road: so that now they had no way to escape, but one, which by man's reason (the two holds lying so upon the mouth of the road) might seem impossible to be a way for them. So was the Red Sea impossible for the Israelites to pass through, the hills and rocks lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other.

So was it impossible, that the walls of Jericho should fall down, being neither undermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any man's wisdom, policy, or help, set or put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. He that held the lion's jaws from rending Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt, cannot He hold the roaring cannon of this force? He that kept the fierce rage in the hot burning oven from the three children who praised His name, cannot He keep the fierce flaming blasts from among his elect?

Now is the road fraught with lusty soldiers, labourers, and mariners, who are fain to stand to their tackling, in setting to every man his hand, some to the carrying in of victuals, some munition, some oars, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemy from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time misspent, no man idle, nor any man's labour ill bestowed, or in vain. So that in short time, this galley was ready trimmed up. Whereinto every man leaped in all haste, hoising up the sails lustily, yielding themselves to His mercy and grace, in whose hands are both wind and weather.

Now is this galley afloat, and out of the safety of the road; now have the two castles full power upon the galley, now is there no remedy but to sink. How can it be avoided? The cannons let fly from both sides, and the galley is even in the midst, and between them both.

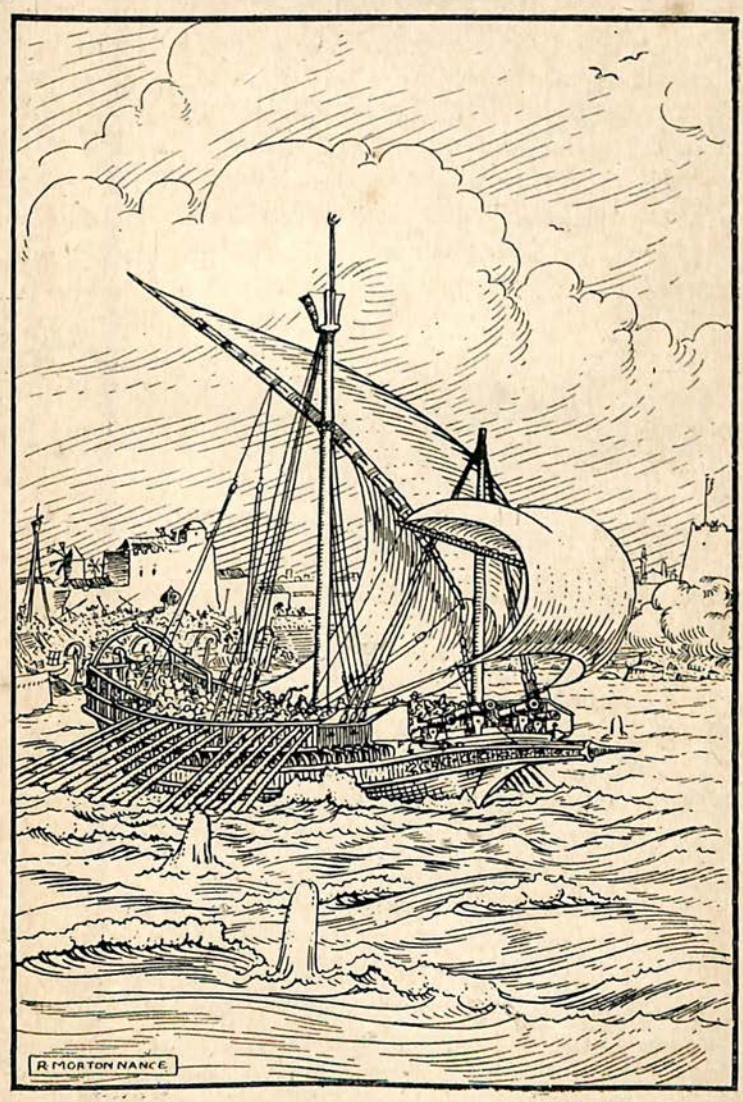
What man can devise to save it? There is no man but would think it must needs be sunk.

There was not one of them that feared the shot, which went thundering round about their ears, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with five and forty shot which came from the castles.

Here did God hold forth His buckler, He shieldeth now this galley, and hath tried their faith to the uttermost. Now cometh His special help; yea, even when man thinks them past all help, then cometh He himself down from heaven with His mighty power, then is His present remedy most ready. For they sail away, being not once touched with the glance of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish cannons' reach.

Then might they see them coming down by heaps to the water side, in companies like unto swarms of bees, making show to come after them with galleys, in bustling themselves to dress up the galleys, which would be a swift piece of work for them to do, for that they had neither oars, masts, sails, gables, nor anything else ready in any galley. But yet they are carrying them into them, some into one galley, and some into another, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certain guide, it were a thing impossible to overtake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a galley, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amazedness amongst them.

And verily I think their god was amazed thereat. It could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speak never a word for dullness, much less can he help them in such an extremity. Well, howsoever it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receive such a gibe. But howsoever their God



THE ESCAPE OF JOHN FOX

behaved himself, our God shewed himself a God indeed, and that He was the only living God. For the seas were swift under His faithful, which made the enemies aghast to behold them. A more skilful pilot leads them, and their mariners bestir themselves lustily: but the Turks had neither mariners, pilot, nor any skilful master, that was in readiness at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies' coast, John Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankful unto almighty God for their delivery, and most humbly to fall down upon their knees, beseeching Him to aid them unto their friends' land, and not to bring them into another danger, since He had most mightily delivered them from so great a thraldom and bondage.

Thus when every man had made his petition, they fell straightway to their labour with the oars, in helping one another when they were wearied, with great labour striving to come to some Christian land, as near as they could guess by the stars. But the winds were so divers, one while driving them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a new maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger.

And forasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the galley, it might have been a cause to them, (if they had been the Israelites) to have murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God who had delivered them out of Egypt, was such a loving and merciful God, that He would not suffer them to be confounded, in whom He had wrought so great a wonder, but what calamity soever they sus-

tained, they knew it was but for their further trial, and also (in putting them in mind of their further misery) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselves therefore.

Having, I say, no victuals in the galley, it might seem that one misery fell continually upon another's neck.

But to be brief, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 days, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest. So it fell out, that upon the 29th day after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candia, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who caused them to stay there while they were well refreshed and eased.

They kept there the sword wherewith John Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it a most precious jewel, and hung it up for a monument.

When they thought good, having leave to depart from thence, they sailed along the coast, till they arrived at Tarento, where they sold their galley, and divided it, every man having a part thereof. The Turks receiving so shameful a foil at their hands, pursued the Christians, and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course.

And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seven galleys of the Turks came thither that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox and his company, fearing lest they should have been met with.

And then they came afoot to Naples, where they departed asunder, every man taking him to his next way home. From whence John Fox took his journey

unto Rome, where he was well entertained of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deed unto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gave him his letters unto the King of Spain, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his most worthy enterprise, gave him in fee twenty pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his own country, he came thither at such time as he conveniently could, which was in the year of our Lord God 1579. Who being come into England, went unto the Court, and shewed all his travel unto the Council. Who considering of the state of this man, in that he had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thraldom and bondage, extended to him their liberality, to help to maintain him now in age, to their right honour, and to the encouragement of all true-hearted Christians.

A REPORT OF NEWFOUNDLAND

From a Letter written to Richard Hakluyt by Anthony Parkhurst, 1578

Now to certify you of the fertility and goodness of the country, you shall understand that I have in sundry places sown wheat, barley, rye, oats, beans, peas, and seeds of herbs, kernels, plumstones, nuts, all which have prospered as in England. The country yieldeth many good trees of fruit, as filberts in some places, but in all places cherry trees, and a kind of pear-tree meet to graff on. As for roses, they are as common as brambles here: strawberries, dewberries, and rasps, as common as grass. The timber is most fir, yet plenty of pineapple trees: few of these two kinds meet to mast a ship of threescore and ten; but near Cape Breton, and to the southward, big and sufficient for any ship. There be also oaks and thorns; there is in all the country plenty of birch and alder, which will be the meetest wood for coal, and also willow, which will serve for many other purposes.

As touching the kinds of fish beside cod, there are herrings, salmons, thornback, plaice, or rather we should call them flounders, dogfish; another most excellent of taste, called of us a cat, oysters and mussels, in which I have found pearls above forty in one mussel, and generally all have some, great or

small. I heard of a Portugal that found one worth three hundred ducats. There are also other kinds of shell-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilks, lobsters and crabs: also a fish like a smelt which cometh on shore, and another that hath the like property, called a squid. These be the fishes, which (when I please to be merry with my old companions) I say, do come on shore when I command them in the name of the five ports, and conjure them by such like words. These be also the fishes which I may sweep with brooms on an heap, and never wet my foot, only pronouncing two or three words whatsoever they be appointed by any man, so they hear my voice: the virtue of the words be small, but the nature of the fish great and strange.

For the squid, whose nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or else cometh to wonder at it as do our fresh water fish; the other cometh also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the cod that would devour him, and therefore for fear coming so near the shore, is driven dry by the surge of the sea on the pebble and sands. Of these, being as good as a smelt, you may take up with a shove-net as plentifully as you do wheat in a shovel, sufficient in three or four hours for a whole city. There be also other fishes of which I tell those that are desirous of strange news, that I take as fast as one would gather up stones, and them I take with a long pole and hook. "Yea, marry," say they, "we believe so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portugals and Frenchmen." "No surely, but thus

I do: with three hooks stretched forth in the end of a pole, I make as it were an eel-spear, with which I prick those flounders as fast as you would take up fritters with a sharp pointed stick, and with that tool I may take up in less than half a day lobsters sufficient to find three hundred men for a day's meat."

This pastime ended, I shew them that for my pleasure I take a great mastiff I have, and say no more than thus: "Go fetch me this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this gentleman that cometh from Kent and Christendom, bringing them to the high water mark," and when he doubteth that any of these great cods by reason of shelving ground be like to tumble into the sea again, he will warily take heed and carry him up back to the heap of his fellows. This doth cause my friends to wonder, and at the first hearing to judge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merry when they hear the means how each tale is true.

I told you once, I do remember, how in my travel into Africa and America I found trees that bare oysters, which was strange unto you, till I told you that their boughs hung in the water, on which both oysters and mussels did stick fast, as their property is, to stakes and timber.

Now to let these merry tales pass, and to come to earnest matters again, you shall understand that Newfoundland is in a temperate climate, and not so cold as foolish mariners do say, who find it cold sometimes when plenty of isles of ice lie near the shore: but up in the land they shall find it hotter than in England in many parts of the country towards the south. This cold cometh by an accidental means, as

by the ice that cometh fleeting from the north parts of the world, and not by the situation of the country or nature of the climate.

The country is full of little small rivers all the year long proceeding from the mountains, ingendered both of snow and rain: few springs that ever I could find or hear of, except it be towards the south: in some places or rather in most places great lakes with plenty of fish, the country most covered with woods of fir, yet in many places indifferent good grass, and plenty of bears everywhere, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as young beef, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be powdered but two days. Of otters we may take like store. There are sea-gulls, murres, ducks, wild geese, and many other kind of birds' store, too long to write, especially at one island named Penguin, where we may drive them on a plank into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birds are also called penguins, and cannot fly; there is more meat in one of these than in a goose. The Frenchmen that fish near the Grand Bay, do bring small store of flesh with them, but victual themselves always with these birds.

Now again, for venison plenty, especially to the north about the Grand Bay, and in the south near Cape Race, and Plesance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as luzarnes and other mighty beasts like to camels in greatness, and their feet cloven; I did see them far off not able to discern them perfectly, but their steps showed that their feet were cloven, and bigger than the feet of camels. I suppose them to be a kind of buffes which I read to be in the countries adjacent and very many in the firm land.

There be also, to the northwards, hares and foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noon-day they take away our flesh before our faces within less than half a pair of butt's length, where four and twenty persons were turning of dry fish, and two dogs in sight, yet stood they not in fear till we gave shot and set the dogs upon them. The bears also be as bold, which will not spare at midday to take your fish before your face, and I believe assuredly would not hurt anybody unless they be forced.

CROSSING THE INDIAN OCEAN

By Thomas Stevens

1579

And you shall understand that, the Cape passed, there be two ways to India. One within the Isle of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselves at Mozambique a fortnight or a month, not without great need, and thence in a month more land in Goa. The other is without the Isle of S. Laurence, which they take when they set forth late, and come so late to the point, that they have no time to take the foresaid Mozambique, and then they go heavily, because in this way they take no port.

And by reason of the long navigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gums wax great and swell, and they are fain to cut them away, their legs swell, and all the body becometh sore, and so benumbed, that they cannot stir hand nor foot, and so they die for weakness. Others fall into fevers and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make, yet though we had more than one hundred and fifty sick, there died not past seven and twenty: which loss they esteemed not much in respect of other times.

Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many. God send me my health as well in the land, if it may be to His honour and service. This way is full of hidden rocks and quick-sands, so that sometimes we durst not sail by night, but by the providence of God we saw nothing, nor ever found bottom until we came to the coast of India.

When we had again passed the line, and were come to the third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had been sodden; but this was no sign of land. After, about the 11th degree, the space of many days, more than ten thousand fishes, by estimation, followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteen days we ate nothing else; and they served our turn very well, for at this time we had neither meat, nor almost anything else to eat, our navigation growing so long that it drew near to seven months, whereas commonly they do it in five: I mean when they sail the inner way. But these fishes were not a sign of land, but rather of deep sea.

At length we took a couple of birds, which were a kind of hawks, which they enjoyed much, thinking they had been of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward.

And we that thought we had been near India, were in the same latitude near Zocotoro, an isle in the mouth of the Red Sea. But there God sent us great winds from N.E. and N.N.East, whereupon unwillingly they bare up towards the East, and thus we went ten days without seeing sign of land, whereby

they perceived their error; for they had directed their course before, always N.E., coveting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran N.W. had drawn us to this other danger, had not God sent us this wind, which at length waxed stronger, and restored us to our right course.

These running seas be so perilous, that they deceive the most part of the governors, and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience, that they care not to seek out any means to know when they swerve, neither by the compass nor by any other trial.

The first sign of land, were certain fowls which they knew to be of India. The second, boughs of palms, and sedges. The third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coin of money, as broad and round as a groat, wonderfully printed and stamped by nature, like unto some coin. And these last two signs are so certain, that the next day after, if the wind serve, they see land, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know they make no beer in these parts) and victuals began to fail us.

And to Goa we came the four and twentieth day of October, there being received with passing great charity.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE IN CALIFORNIA

1579

WE kept our course from the Isle of Cano, which lieth in eight degrees of northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the main of Nicaragua, where we caulked and trimmed our ship, along the coast of Nueva Espanna, until we came to the haven and town of Guatulco, which, as we were informed, had but seventeen Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fifteen degrees and fifty minutes.

As soon as we were entered this haven we landed, and went presently to the town, and to the town-house, where we found a judge sitting in judgement, he being associate with three other officers, upon three negroes that had conspired the burning of the town: both which judges and prisoners we took, and brought them ashipboard, and caused the chief judge to write his letter to the town, to command all the townsmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransacked the town, and in one house we found a pot of the quantity of a bushel full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone, one of our company, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the

town, and searching him he found a chain of gold about him, and other jewels, which we took, and so let him go.

At this place our general among other Spaniards set ashore his Portugal pilot, which he took at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Marie, port of Portugal, and having set them ashore, we departed thence. Our general at this place and time thinking himself both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our country and prince in general, sufficiently satisfied and revenged: and supposing that Her Majesty at his return would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his country.

He thought it not good to return by the Straits, for two special causes: the one lest the Spaniards should there wait, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands he, being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Straits of the South side, with continual storms raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to adventure that way. He resolved therefore to avoid these hazards, to go forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and therehence to sail the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Upon this resolution he began to think of his best way for the Malucos, and finding himself, where he now was, becalmed, he saw that of necessity he must

be enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to sail somewhat northerly to get a wind. We therefore set sail, and sailed 800 leagues at the least for a good wind, and thus much we sailed from the sixteenth of April after our old style till the third of June.

The fifth day of June, being in forty-three degrees towards the pole arctic, being speedily come out of the extreme heat, we found the air so cold that our men being pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof, and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seek land, and did so, finding it not mountainous but low plain land, and we drew back again without landing, till we came within thirty-eight degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same.

In this bay we anchored the seventeenth of June, and the people of the country, having their houses close by the water's side, showed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our general.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things which we brought, but our general (according to his natural and accustomed humanity) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things wherewith to clothe themselves, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent unto our general were feathers and cauls of net-work.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brims of the circle clifts of wood set upon them, joining close together at the

top like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warm.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house, they have the fire in the middest. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes and comb them after the manner of hemp, and thereof make their loose garments, having also about their shoulders a skin of deer, with the hair upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After that they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of tobacco for presents. And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottom whereof we had pitched our tents) they stayed themselves, where one appointed for speaker wearied himself with making a long oration, which done, they left their bows upon the hill and came down with their presents. In the meantime the women remaining on the hill tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheeks, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the mean time our general, with his company, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive and seemed greatly to be affected by it; but when they were come unto us they restored again unto us those things which before we had bestowed upon them.

The news of our being there being spread through the country, the people that inhabited round about came down, and amongst them the king himself, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose

coming were sent two ambassadors to our general, to signify that their king was coming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about half an hour. This ended, they by signs requested our general to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his coming might be in peace; wherein our general having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely majesty, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew near unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comeliness.

In the forefront was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the sceptre or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crowns, a less and a bigger, with three chains of a marvellous length. The crowns were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of divers colours; the chains were made of a bony substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to wear them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelve. Next unto him which bare the sceptre was the king himself, with his guard about his person, clad with cony-skins and other skins. After them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with black, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or another for a present; not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the mean time our general gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching a very warlike show. They being trooped together in their order, and a general

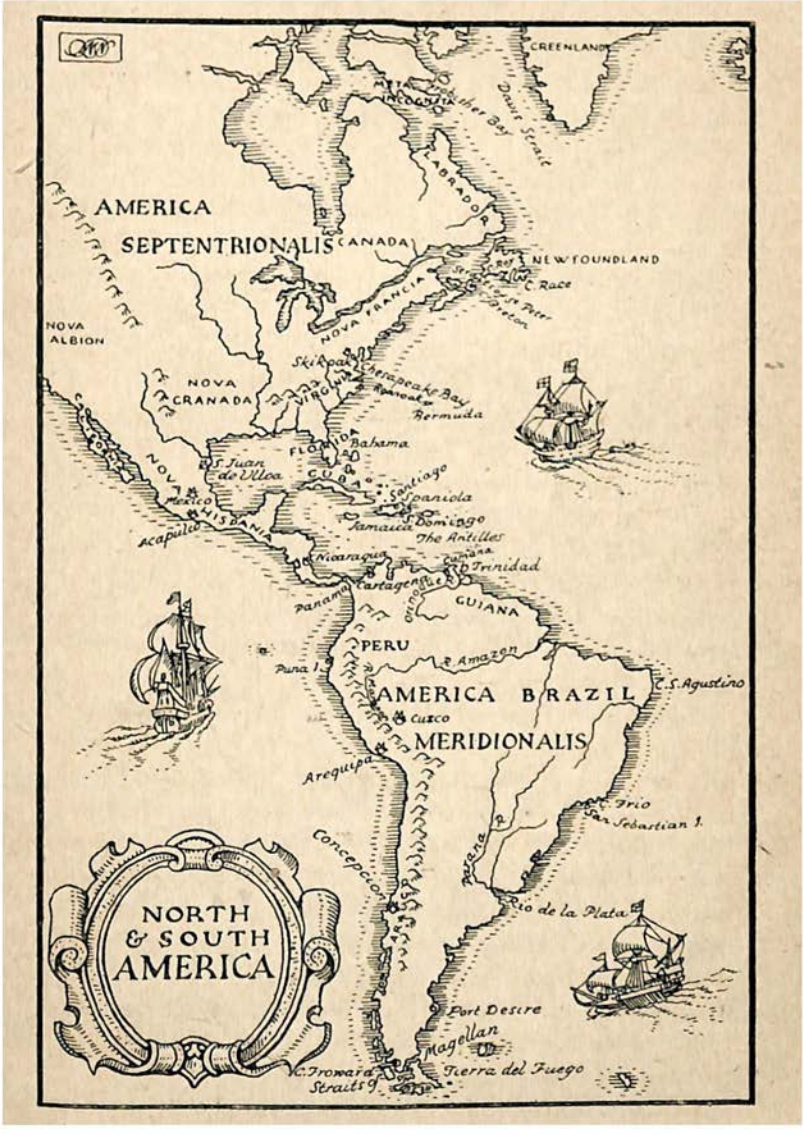
salutation being made, there was presently a general silence. Then he that bare the sceptre before the king, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and lofty voice, proclaimed that which the other spoke to him in secret, continuing half an hour; which ended, and a general Amen, as it were, given, the king with the whole number of men, and women, (the children excepted,) came down without any weapon, who descending to the foot of the hill, set themselves in order.

In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the sceptre-bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, while the king with his guard, and every degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the women which danced and kept silence. The general permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signs to our general to sit down, to whom the king and divers others made several orations, or rather supplication, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which to persuade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed a sign of triumph: which thing our general thought not meet

to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our country. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of Her Majesty, he took the sceptre, crown and dignity of the said country in his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of the people leaving the king and his guard with our general, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of every person; and such as pleased their fancy (which were the youngest), they enclosing them about offered their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nails, whereof issued abundance of blood. But we used signs to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom only they ought to worship. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved help of them at our hands, whereupon we gave them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefs, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Every third day they brought their sacrifices unto us, until they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the hour of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They entreated us that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessary business being ended, our general


GREENLAND
Davis Straits
Hudsons Bay
LABRADOR
AMERICA
SEPTENTRIONALIS
CANADA
NEWFOUNDLAND
C. Race
St. Peters
NOVA FRANCIA
NOVA ALBION
NOVA GRANADA
Chesapeak Bay
Bermuda
FLORIDA
Bahama
S. Juan de Ulloa
CUBA
Mexico
HISPANIA
Acapulco
Hispaniola
Jamaica
Domingo
The Antilles
Nicaragua
Trinidad
Panama
Cartagena
GUIANA
PERU
R. Amazon
Puna I.
AMERICA
MERIDIONALIS
BRAZIL
C. S. Agustino
Cuzco
Arequipa
Trio
San Sebastian I.
Concepcion
Rio de la Plata
Port Desire
Magellan
C. Froward
Straits of
Tierra del Fuego
NORTH
& SOUTH
AMERICA

with his company travelled up into the country to their villages, where we found herds of deer by a thousand in a company, being most large and fat of body.

We found the whole country to be a warren of a strange kind of conies, their bodies in bigness as be the Barbary conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a want, and the tail of a rat being of great length; under her chin on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meat when she hath eaten her fill abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for the king's coat was made of them.

Our general called this country Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs which lie towards the sea, and the other because it might have some affinity with our country in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our general set up a monument of our being there, as also of Her Majesty's right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraven Her Majesty's name, the day and year of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into Her Majesty's hands, together with Her Highness' picture and arms, in a piece of sixpence of current English money under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our general. It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the country, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the southwards of this place.

THE KING OF THE WHITE ELEPHANTS

By Ralph Fitch

1583–91

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very fair town, and hath a fair port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places.

Here are eighteen or twenty very great and long houses, where they tame and keep many elephants of the king's; for thereabout in the wilderness they catch the wild elephants. It is a very fruitful country.

From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good town, and hath a fair port into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from divers other places. And there the ships stay and discharge, and send up their goods in paroes to Pegu. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretty town, where we left our boats or paroes, and in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of coaches made of cords and cloth quilted, and carried upon a stang between three or four men, we came to Pegu the same day.

Pegu is a city very great, strong and very fair, with

walls of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two towns, the old and the new. In the old town, are all the merchants-strangers, and very many merchants of the country. All the goods are sold in the old town, which is very great, and hath many suburbs round about it. All the houses are made of canes which they call bamboos, and be covered with straw. In your house, you have a ware-house, which they call godon, which is made of brick, to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burn in an hour four or five hundred houses; so that if the godon were not, you should be in danger to have all burned, if any wind should rise, at a trice.

In the new town is the king, and all his nobility and gentry. It is a city very great and populous, and is made square, with very fair walls, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it. It hath twenty gates, and they be made of stone, for every square five gates. There are also many turrets for sentinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with gold, very fair.

The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that ten or twelve men may ride afront through them. On both sides of them, at every man's door, is set a palmer tree, which is the nut tree: which makes a very fair show, and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walk in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tiles.

The king's house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded,

and great workmanship is upon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded.

The house wherein his pagode or idol standeth, is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walls are gilded with gold. Within the first gate of the King's house is a very large room, on both sides whereof are houses made for the King's elephants, which be marvellous great, and fair, and are brought up to wars and in service of the King.

Among the rest he hath four white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he. If any other king hath one, he will send unto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought unto the King, all the merchants of the city are commanded to see them, and to give him a present of half a ducat, which doth come to a great sum, for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you have given your present, you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the King's house.

This King in his title is called—The King of the White Elephants. If any other king have one, and will not send it him, he will make war with him for it, for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdom than not to conquer him. They do very great service unto these white elephants; every one of them standeth in a house gilded with gold and they do feed in vessels of silver and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the river to be washed, as every day they do, goeth under a canopy of cloth of gold or silk, carried over him by six or eight men, and eight or ten men go before him playing on drums, shawms or other instruments; and when he is washed and

cometh out of the river, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a silver basin: which is his office given him by the King.

There is no such account made of any black elephant, be he never so great. And surely there be wonderful fair and great, and some be nine cubits in height. They do report that the King hath about 5,000 elephants of war, beside many other which be not taught to fight.

This King hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wild elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, built with a fair court within, and is in a great grove or wood. And there be many huntsmen, which go into the wilderness with she-elephants: for without the females they are not to be taken. They be taught for that purpose, and every hunter hath five or six of them.

They say that they anoint the she-elephants with a certain ointment, which when the wild elephant doth smell, he will not leave her. When they have brought the wild elephant near unto the place, they send word unto the town, and many horse men and foot men come out and cause the she-elephant to enter into a straight way which doth go to the place, and the she and he do run in; for it is like a wood, and when they be in the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female, and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walls, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them do break their teeth with running against them.

Then they prick him with sharp canes, and cause him to go into a straight house, and there they put a

rope about his body, and about his feet, and let him stand there three or four days, without eating or drinking. Then they bring a female to him, with meat and drink, and within few days he becometh tame.

The chief force of the King is in these elephants. And when they go into the wars, they set a frame of wood upon their backs, bound with great cords, wherein sit four or six men, which fight with guns, bows and arrows, darts and other weapons. And they say that their skins are so thick that a pellet of an arquebus will scarce pierce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very bad. They have guns, but shoot very badly in them; darts and swords, short without points.

The King keepeth a very great state; when he sitteth abroad, as he doth every day twice, all his noblemen which they call Shemines, sit on each side, a good distance off, and a great guard outside them. The court yard is very great. If any man will speak with the King, he is to kneel down, to heave up his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entereth, in the middle way, and when he cometh near to the King. Then he sitteth down and talketh with the King. If the King like well of him, he sitteth near him within three or four paces: if he think not well of him, he sitteth further off.

When he goeth to war, he goeth very strong. At my being there, he went to Odia in the country of Siam with 300,000 men and 5,000 elephants. Thirty thousand men were his guard.

These people do eat roots, herbs, leaves, dogs,

cats, rats, serpents and snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the King rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes upon an elephant with a fine castle upon him, very fairly gilded with gold; and sometimes upon a great frame like a horse-litter, which hath a little house upon it, covered overhead, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with gold and set with many rubies and sapphires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, and is carried upon sixteen or eighteen men's shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times before the King, both of men and women.

This King hath little force by sea, because he hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of gold and silver, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and sapphires and spinelles. Near unto the palace of the King there is a treasure wonderful rich, the which, because it is so near, he doth not account of it, and it standeth open for all men to see, in a great walled court with two gates, which be always open.

There are four houses gilded very richly, and covered with lead. In every one of them are pagodes or images of huge stature and great value.

In the first, is the picture of a king in gold, with a crown of gold on his head full of great rubies and sapphires, and about him there stand four children of gold.

In the second house, is the picture of a man in silver, wonderful great, as high as a house; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made sitting, with a crown on his head, very rich with stones.

In the third house is the picture of a man greater than the other, made of brass, with a rich crown on his head.

In the fourth and last house doth stand another, made of brass, greater than the other, with a crown also on his head very rich with stones. In another court, not far from this, stand four other pagodes or idols, marvellous great, of copper, made in the same place where they do stand, for they be so great, that they be not to be removed. They stand in four houses gilded very fair, and are themselves gilded all over save their heads, and they shew like a black Morian. Their expenses in gilding their images are wonderful.

VIRGINIA IN 1584

THE soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world. There are above fourteen several sweet smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bays and such like. They have those oaks that we have, but far greater and better. After they had been divers times aboard our ships, myself with seven more went twenty miles into the river that runs toward the City of Skicoak, which river they call Occam; and the evening following we came to an island which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues.

And at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees, to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water side, the wife of Granganimo the King's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly; her husband was not then in the village.

Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore, for the beating of the billow. Others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the

outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them, and dried them again. Some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house, some wheat like furmentie, sodden venison and roasted, fish sodden, boiled and roasted; melons raw and sodden; roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. Their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it all the year after, they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras, and divers other wholesome and medicinal herbs and trees.

We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise.

We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth.

Their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savoury. Their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweet. Their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. Within the place where they feed was their lodging, and

within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things.

While we were at meat, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons. But as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out at the gate again.

When we departed in the evening and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women, to sit all night on the bank side by us, and sent us into our boat five mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses. But because we were few men, and if we had miscarried, the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not adventure any thing, though there was no cause of doubt; for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

THE ESCAPE OF THE PRIMROSE

1585

The escape of the Primrose, a tall ship of London, from before the town of Bilbao in Biscay; which ship the Corrigidor of the same province, accompanied with 97 Spaniards, offered violently to arrest, and was defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into England.

IT is not unknown unto the world what danger our English ships have lately escaped, how sharply they have been entreated, and how hardly they have been assaulted: so that the valiance of those that managed them is worthy remembrance.

And therefore, in respect of the courageous attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the Primrose of London, which hath obtained renown, I have taken in hand to publish the truth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally known to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this, the rest may, in time of extremity, adventure to do the like: to the honour of the realm, and the perpetual remembrance of themselves. The manner whereof was as followeth.

Upon Wednesday being the six and twentieth day of May 1585, the ship Primrose, being of one hundred

and fifty tons, lying without the bay of Bilbao, having been there two days, there came a Spanish pinnace to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and six others with him. These came aboard the Primrose, seeming to be merchants of Biscay, or such like, bringing cherries with them: and spake very friendly to the Master of the ship, whose name was Foster, and he in courteous wise bade them welcome; making them the best cheer he could with beer, beef, and biscuit, wherewith that ship was well furnished. And while they were thus banqueting with the Master, four of the seven departed in the said pinnace, and went back again to Bilbao.

The other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But Master Foster, misdoubting some danger, secretly gave speech that he was doubtful of these men, what their intent was. Nevertheless he said nothing, nor seemed in any wise to mistrust them at all. Forthwith there came a ship-boat wherein were seventy persons, being merchants and such like of Biscay: and besides this boat, there came also the pinnace which before had brought the other three, in which pinnace there came four and twenty, as the Spaniards themselves since confessed. These made towards the Primrose, and being come thither, there came aboard the Corrigidor with three or four of his men.

But Master Foster seeing this great multitude, desired that there might no more come aboard, but that the rest should stay in their boats, which was granted. Nevertheless they took small heed of these words: for on a sudden they came forth of the boat, entering the ship, every Spaniard taking to his rapier,

which they brought in the boat with other weapons, and a drum wherewith to triumph over them.

Thus did the Spaniards enter the ship, plunging in fiercely upon them, some planting themselves under the deck, some entering the cabins, and a multitude attending their prey.

Then the Corrigidor having an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, said to the master of the ship: Yield yourself, for you are the King's prisoner. Whereat the master said to his men: We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would have slain him, meaning nothing less than to do any such act, for all they sought was to bring him and his men safe alive to shore. Whereat the master was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselves ready to be conveyed even to the slaughter.

Notwithstanding, some of them respecting the danger of the master, and seeing how with themselves there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolved themselves either to defend the master, and generally to shun that danger, or else to die, and be buried in the midst of the sea, rather than to suffer themselves to come into the tormentor's hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some took to their javelins, lances, boar-spears, and shot, which they had set in readiness before, and having five calivers ready charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were under the hatches or the grate did shoot up at the Spaniards that were over their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the sudden, as they

could hardly tell which way to escape the danger, fearing this small shot to be of greater number than it was.

Others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselves of that courage with boar-spears and lances that they dismayed at every stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the master to command his men to cease and hold their hands, but he answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their own lives, they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to do it.

Now did their blood run about the ship in great quantity, some of them being shot in the legs, the bullets issuing forth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust through the body, and many of them very sore wounded; so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast over-board on both sides with their weapons in their hands, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boats, making haste towards the city.

And this is to be noted, that although they came very thick thither, there returned but a small company of them. Neither is it known as yet, how many of them were slain or drowned. Only one Englishman was then slain whose name was John Tristram, and six other hurt. It was great pity to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to save their lives. Four of them taking hold of the ship, were for pity's sake taken up again by Master Foster and his men, not knowing what they were.

All the Spaniards' bosoms were stuffed with paper to defend them from the shot, and these four having

some wounds were dressed by the surgeon of the ship. One of them was the Corrigidor himself, who is governor of a hundred towns and cities in Spain, his living by his office being better than six hundred pounds yearly.

This skirmish happened in the evening about six of the clock, after they had laden twenty tons of goods and better out of the said ship; which goods were delivered by two of the same ship, whose names were John Burrell and John Brodbanke, who being on shore, were apprehended and stayed.

After this valiant enterprise of eight and twenty Englishmen against ninety-seven Spaniards, they saw it was in vain for them to stay, and therefore set up sails, and by God's Providence avoided all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition, and (God be thanked) arrived safely in England, near London, on Wednesday, being the eighth day of June 1585.

VOYAGE IN SEARCH OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE BY JOHN DAVIS

1586

THE next day with all possible speed the pinnace was landed upon an isle, there to be finished to serve our purpose of discovery. This isle was so convenient for that purpose, as that we were very well able to defend ourselves against many enemies. During the time that the pinnace was there setting up, the people came continually to us, sometimes a hundred canoes at a time, sometimes forty, fifty, more and less as occasion served. They brought with them seal-skins, stag-skins, white hares, seal fish, salmon peal, small cod, dry caplin, with other fish, and such birds as the country did yield.

Myself still desirous to have a further search of this place, sent one of the ship-boats to one part of the land, and myself went to another part, to search for the habitation of this people, with straight commandment that there should be no injury offered to any of the people, neither any gun shot.

The boats that went from me found the tents of the people made with seal-skins set up on timber, wherein they found great stores of dried caplin,

being a little fish no bigger than a pilchard. They found bags of train oil, many little images cut in wood, seal-skins in tan-tubs, with many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

They also found ten miles within the snowy mountains, a plain champaign country, with earth and grass, such as our moors or waste grounds of England are.

They went up into a river (which in the narrowest part is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it still to continue, they knew not how far.

But I with my company took another river, which although at the first it offered a large inlet, yet it proved but a deep bay, the limit whereof in four hours I attained, and there leaving the boat well manned, went with the rest of my company, three or four miles into the country, but found nothing nor saw anything save only gripes, ravens and small birds, as larks and linnets.

The third of July I manned my boat, and went with fifty canoes attending upon me up into another sound, where the people by signs willed me to go, hoping to find their habitation. At length they made signs that I should go into a warm place to sleep, at which place I went on shore, and ascended the top of a high hill to see into the country, but perceiving my labour vain, I returned again to my boat, the people still following me and my company, very desirous to attend us, and to help us up the rocks and likewise down.

At length I was desirous to have our men leap with them, which was done, but our men did over-leap them. From leaping they went to wrestling; we

found them strong and nimble, and to have skill in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

The fourth of July we launched our pinnace, and had forty of the people to help us, which they did very willingly. At this time our men again wrestled with them, and found them as before strong and skilful.

This fourth of July the Master of the Mermaid went to certain islands to store himself with wood, and found a grave with divers buried in it, only covered with seal-skins, having a cross laid over them.

The people are of good stature, in body well proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, broad visages and small eyes, wide mouths, the most part unbearded, great lips and close toothed.

Their custom is, as often as they go from us, still at their return to make a new truce, in this sort: holding his hand up to the sun, he crieth with a loud voice, Ylyaoute, and striketh his breast; with like signs, being promised safety, he giveth credit.

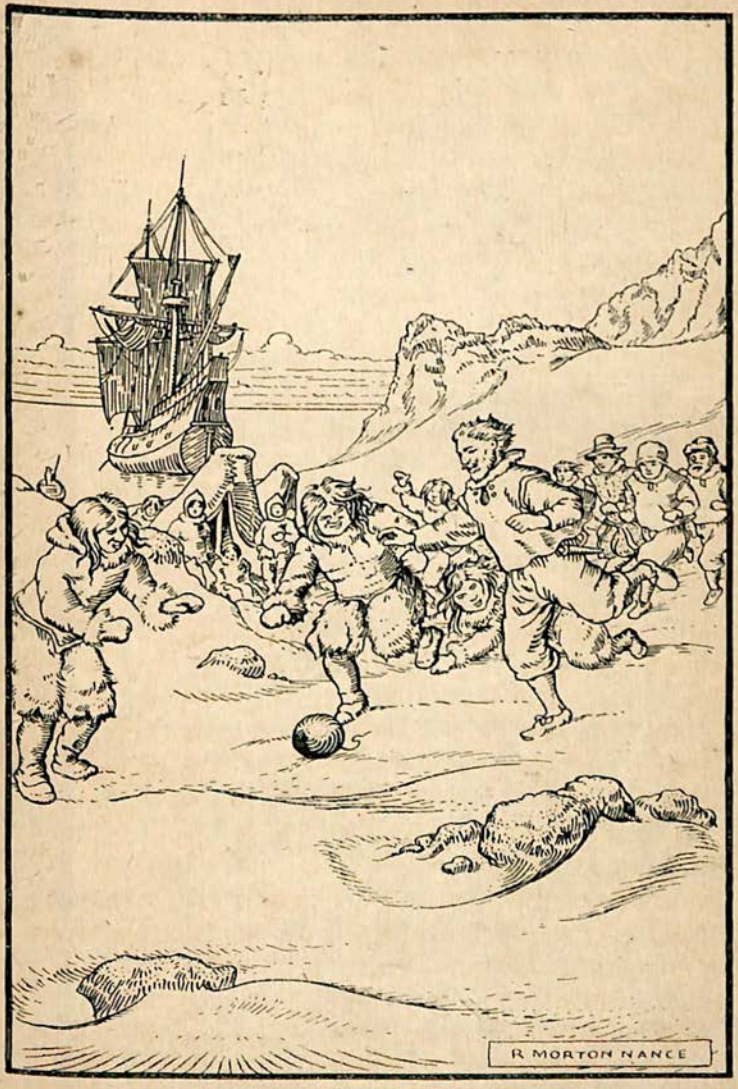
These people are much given to bleed, and therefore stop their noses, with deer's hair, or the hair of an elan. They are idolaters, and have of images great store, which they wear about them and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and have many kinds of enchantments, which they often used, but to small purpose, thanks be to God.

Being among them ashore the fourth of July, one of them making a long oration, began to kindle a fire in this manner: he took a piece of board wherein was a hole half through: into that hole he puts the end of a round stick like unto a bed-staff, wetting the

end thereof in train-oil, and in fashion of a turner, with a piece of leather by his violent motion doth very speedily produce fire: which done, with turfs he made a fire, into which with many words and strange gestures, he put divers things, which we supposed to be a sacrifice. Myself and members of my company standing by, they were desirous to have me go into the smoke; I willed them likewise to stand in the smoke, which they by no means would do. I then took one of them and thrust him into the smoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, and to spurn it into the sea, which was done to shew them that we did contemn their sorcery.

These people are very simple in all their conversation, but marvellous thievish, especially for iron, which they have in great account. They began through our lenity to shew their vile nature; they began to cut our cables; they cut away the Moonlight's boat from her stern; they cut our cloth where it lay to air, though we did carefully look into it. They stole our oars, a caliver, a boar-spear, a sword, with divers other things, whereat the company and masters being grieved, for our better security, desired me to dissolve this new friendship, and leave the company of these thievish miscreants. Whereupon there was a caliver shot among them, and immediately upon the same a falcon, which strange noise did sore amaze them, and with speed they departed.

Notwithstanding their simplicity is such, that within ten hours after they came again to us to entreat peace, which being promised, we again fell into a great league. They brought us seal-skins and salmon peal, but seeing iron, they could in no wise forbear



THE MEN OF DARTMOUTH AND THE ESKIMO PLAY FOOTBALL

(See Notes)

stealing; which when I perceived, it did but minister unto me an occasion of laughter to see their simplicity, and I willed that in no case they should be any more hardly used, but that our own company, should be the more vigilant to keep their things, supposing it to be very hard in so short a time to make them better to know their evils.

They eat all their meat raw, and live most on fish. They drink salt water, and eat grass and ice with delight. They are never out of the water, but live in the nature of fishes, save only when dead sleep taketh them, and then they get under a warm rock, laying their boat upon the land, they lie down to sleep.

Their weapons are all darts, but some of them have bows and arrows, and slings. They make nets to take their fish, out of the fin of a whale, and make all their things very artificially.

It should seem that these simple, thievish islanders have war with those of the main, for many of them are sore wounded, which wounds they received upon the mainland, as by signs they gave us to understand.

We had among them copper ore, black copper, and red copper. They pronounce their language very hollow, and deep in the throat.

* * * * * *

The seventh of July, being very desirous to search the habitation of this country, I went myself with our new pinnace into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firm continent. Passing up a very large river, a great flaw of wind took me, whereby we were constrained to seek succour for that night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my company, and

went to the top of a high mountain, hoping from thence to see into the country. But the mountains were so many and so mighty that my purpose prevailed not. Whereupon I again returned to my pinnace, willing divers of my company to gather mussels for supper, whereof in this place there was great store.

Myself had espied a very strange sight, especially to me that never before saw the like, which was a mighty whirl-wind taking up the water in very great quantity, furiously mounting it into the air. This whirl-wind was not for a puff or blast, but continual, for the space of three hours, with very little intermission. As it was in the course that I should pass, we were constrained that night to take up our lodging under the rocks.

The next morning the storm being broken up we went forward in our attempt, and sailed into a mighty great river directly into the body of the land, and in brief, found it to be no firm land, but huge, waste, and desert isles, with mighty sounds and inlets passing between sea and sea. Whereupon we returned towards our ships, and landing to stop a flood, we found the burial of these miscreants; we found of their fish in bags, plaice and caplin dried, of which we took only one bag, and departed.

The ninth of this month we came to our ships, where we found the people desirous, in their fashion, of friendship and barter. Our mariners complained heavily against the people and said that my lenity and friendly using of them inclined them to mischief. "For they have stolen an anchor from us, they have cut our cable very dangerously, they have cut our boats from our stern, and now since your departure

with slings they spare us not with stones of half a pound weight: and will you still endure these injuries? It is a shame to bear them."

I desired them to be content, and said I doubted not but all should be well.

The tenth of this month I went to the shore, the people following me in their canoes. I told them on shore, and used them with much courtesy, and then departed aboard, they following me and my company.

I gave some of them bracelets, and caused seven or eight of them to come aboard, which they did willingly and some of them went to the top of the ship. And thus courteously using them, I let them depart. The sun was no sooner down, but they began to practise their savage nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Moonlight, and struck one of her men then boatswain, so that he overthrew withal. Whereat being moved, I changed my courtesy and grew to hatred. Myself in my own boat, well manned with shot, and the bark's boat likewise, pursued them and gave them divers shots, but to small purpose by reason of their swift rowing; so little content we returned.

The eleventh of this month there came five of them to make a new truce. The master of the Admiral came to me to show me of their coming, and desired to have them taken and kept as prisoners until we had his anchor again.

But when he saw that the chief ringleader and master of mischief was one of the five, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was therefore determined to take him.

He came crying Iliaout, and, striking his breast,

offered a pair of gloves for sale. The master offered him a knife for them: so two of them came to us. The one was not touched, but the other was soon captive among us. Then we pointed to him and his fellows for our anchor, which being had, we made signs that he should be set at liberty.

Within an hour after he came aboard, the wind came fair, so we weighed, and set sail, bringing the fellow with us. One of his fellows still following our ship close aboard, talked with him and made a kind of lamentation, we still using him well with Iliaout, which was the common course of courtesy.

At length this fellow aboard us spake four or five words unto the other and clapped his two hands upon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we suppose with heavy cheer. We judged the covering of his face with his hands, and bowing of his body down, signified his death. At length he became a pleasant companion among us. I gave him a new suit of frieze after the English fashion, because I saw he could not endure the cold, and of this he was very joyful. He trimmed up his darts, and all his fishing tools, and would make oakum, and give a hand to a rope's end upon occasion.

He lived upon the dry caplin that I took when I was searching in the pinnace, and also ate dry Newland[1] fish.

All this time, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, only one young man excepted, who died at sea the fourteenth of this month, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the sea, with praise given to God by service, was committed unto the deep.

[1] Newfoundland.

FROM THE VOYAGE OF MASTER THOMAS CANDISH ROUND THE WORLD

1586–8

I.

THE sixteenth day of December, 1586, we fell with the coast of America in 47 degrees, the land bearing west from us about six leagues off; from which place we ran along the shore until we came into 48 degrees. It is a steep beach all along.

The seventeenth day of December in the afternoon we entered into a harbour, where our Admiral went in first. Our General named the said harbour Port Desire: in which harbour is an island or two, where there is wonderful great store of seals, and another island of birds, which are grey gulls. These seals are of a wonderful great bigness, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the fore part of their bodies are full of rough hair; their feet are in manner of a fin, and in form like unto a man's hand. They breed and cast every month, giving their young milk; yet continually get they their living in the sea, and live altogether upon fish. Their young are marvellous good meat, and being boiled or roasted are hardly to be known from lamb or mutton.

The old ones be of such bigness and force, that it is as much as four men are able to do to kill one of them with great cowl-staves; and he must be beaten down with striking on the head of him; for his body is of that bigness that four men could never kill him, but only on the head. For being shot through the body with an arquebus or a musket, yet he will go his way into the sea, and never care for it at the present. Also the fowls that were there were very good meat, and great store of them; they have burrows in the ground like conies, for they cannot fly. They have nothing but down upon their pinions. They also fish and feed in the sea for their living, and breed on shore.

This harbour is a very good place to trim ships in, and to bring them on ground and grave them in, for there ebbeth and floweth much water; therefore we graved and trimmed all our ships there.

The twenty-fourth of December, being Christmas Even, a man and a boy of the Rear-Admiral went some forty score from our ships unto a very fair green valley at the foot of the mountains, where was a little pit or well which our men had digged and made some two or three days before to get fresh water, for there was none in all the harbour; and this was but brackish. Therefore this man and boy came thither to wash their linen. And while they were washing at the said well, there were great store of Indians which were come down, and found the said man and boy washing. These Indians being divided on each side of the rocks, shot at them with their arrows and hurt them both, but they fled presently, being about fifty or threescore, though our

general followed them but with sixteen or twenty men. The man's name which was hurt was John Garge, the boy's name was Lutch. The man was shot clean through the knee, the boy into the shoulder, either of them having very sore wounds. Their arrows are made of little canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially.

They seldom or never see any Christians; they are as wild as ever was a buck or any other wild beast; for we followed them, and they ran from us as it had been the wildest thing in the world. We took the measure of one of their feet, and it was eighteen inches long. Their use is when any of them die, to bring him or them to the cliffs by the seaside, and upon the top of them they bury them, and in their graves are buried with them their bows and arrows, and all their jewels which they have in their life-time, which are fine shells which they find by the seaside, which they cut and square after an artificial manner; and all is laid under their heads. The grave is made all with great stones of great length and bigness, being set all along full of the dead man's darts which he used when he was living. And they colour both their darts and their graves with a red colour which they use in colouring of themselves.

II.

The twenty-fifth day of May 1587 we arrived at the island of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where we found a great ship of the burthen of 250

tons riding at an anchor with all her furniture, which was ready to be haled on ground, for there is a special good place for that purpose. We sunk it, and went on shore where the lord of the island dwelt, which was by the water's side; he had a sumptuous house, marvellous well contrived with very many singular good rooms and chambers in it. And out of every chamber was framed a gallery with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the island on the other side, with a marvellous great hall below, and a very great storehouse at the one end of the hall, which was filled with botijas of pitch and bash to make cables withal: for the most part of the cables in the South Sea are made upon that island. This great casique doth make all the Indians upon the island to work and to drudge for him; and he himself is an Indian born, but is married to a marvellous fair woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth.

This Spanish woman his wife is honoured as a queen in the island, and never goeth on the ground upon her feet, but holdeth it too base a thing for her. But when her pleasure is to take the air or to go abroad, she is always carried in a shadow like unto an horse-litter, upon four men's shoulders, with a veil or canopy over her for the sun or the wind, having her gentlewomen still attending about her with a great troop of the best men of the island with her. But both she and the lord of the island with all the Indians in the town were nearly fled out of the island before we could get to an anchor, (by reason we were becalmed before we could get in,)

and were gone over unto the mainland, having carried away with them to the sum of a hundred thousand crowns. This we knew by the captain of the island, an Indian, which was left there with some other upon the island under him, whom we had taken at sea as we were coming into the road, being in a balsa or canoe, for a spy to see what we were.

The twenty-ninth day of May our general went in the ship-boat into a little island thereby, whither the said casique which was the lord of Puna had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of Cordovan leather all gilded over, and painted very fair and rich, with all his household stuff, and all the ships' tackling which was riding in the road at our coming in, with great store of nails, spikes of iron, and very many other things to be conveyed: all which we found, and brought away what our general thought requisite for the ship's business.

This island is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitful; but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least two hundred houses in the town about the casique's palace, and as many in one or two towns more upon the island, which is almost as big as the Isle of Wight in England. There is planted on the one side of the casique's house a fair garden, with all herbs growing in it, and at the lower end a well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this manner: the tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seed of the bigness of a pease, and in every cod there are seven or eight of these

seeds; and if the cotton be not gathered when it is ripe, then these seeds fall from it and spring again.

"There are also in this garden fig-trees which bear continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemary and thyme, with many other herbs and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another orchard, where grow oranges sweet and sour, lemons, pomegranates and limes, with divers other fruits. There is very good pasture ground in this island, and withal many horses, oxen, bullocks, sheep very fat and fair, great store of goats which be very tame, and are used continually to be milked. They have moreover abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marvellous bigness.

By this time we had haled on ground our admiral, and had made her clean, burnt her keel, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on float again. And in the meanwhile we continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

III.

The first day of March 1588, having passed through the straits of Java Minor and Jaya Major, we came to an anchor under the southwest parts of Java Major, where we espied certain of the people which were fishing by the seaside in a bay which was under the island. Then our general taking into the ship-boat certain of his company, and a negro which could speak the Morisco tongue, which he had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward those fishers, which having espied our boat ran on shore into the wood for fear of our men; but our general caused

his negro to call unto them, who no sooner heard him call but presently one of them came out to the shore side and made answer. Our general, by the negro, enquired of him for fresh water, which they found, and caused the fisher to go to the king and to certify him of a ship that was come to have traffic for victuals, and for diamonds, pearls, or any other rich jewels that he had, for which he should have either gold or other merchandise in exchange. The fisher answered that we should have all manner of victuals that we would request. Thus the boat came aboard again. Within a while after we went about to furnish our ship thoroughly with wood and water.

About the eighth of March two or three canoes came from the town unto us with eggs, hens, fresh fish, oranges, and limes, and brought word we should have had victuals more plentifully, but that they were so far to be brought to us where we rid. Which when our general heard, he weighed anchor and stood in nearer for the town; and as we were under sail we met with one of the king's canoes coming toward us; whereupon we shook the ship in the wind and stayed for the canoe until it came aboard of us, and stood into the bay which was hard by and came to an anchor.

In this canoe was the king's secretary, who had on his head a piece of dyed linen folded up like a Turk's tuliban. He was all naked saving about his waist, his breast was carved with the broad arrow upon it; he went barefooted; he had an interpreter with him, which was a mestizo, that is, half an Indian and half a Portugal, who could speak very good Portuguese.

This secretary signified unto our general that he had brought him a hog, hens, eggs, fresh fish, sugar canes and wine (which wine was as strong as aqua vitæ and as clear as any rock-water); he told him farther that he would bring victuals so sufficiently for him as he and his company would request, and that within the space of four days. Our general used him singularly well, banquetted him most royally with the choice of many and sundry conserves, wines both sweet and other, and caused his musicians to make him music. This done, our general told him that he and his company were Englishmen, and that we had been at China and had traffic there with them, and that we were come thither to discover, and purposed to go to Malacca.

The people of Java told our general that there were certain Portugals in the island which lay there as factors continually to traffic with them, to buy negroes, cloves, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities. This secretary of the king with his interpreter lay one night aboard our ship.

The same night, because they lay aboard, in the evening at the setting of the watch, our general commanded every man in the ship to provide his arquebus and his shot, and so with shooting off forty or fifty small shot and one sacre, himself set the watch with them. This was no small marvel unto these heathen people, who had not commonly seen any ship so furnished with men and ordnance. The next morning we dismissed the secretary and his interpreter with all humanity.

The fourth day after, which was the twelfth of March, according to their appointment came the

king's canoes; but the wind being somewhat scant they could not get aboard that night, but put into a bay under the island until the next day, and presently after the break of day there came to the number of nine or ten of the king's canoes as deeply laden with victuals as they could swim, with two great live oxen, half a score of wonderful great and fat hogs, a number of hens which were alive, drakes, geese, eggs, plantains, sugar canes, sugar in plates, cocos, sweet oranges and sour, limes, great store of wine and aqua vitæ, salt to season victuals withal, and almost all manner of victuals else, with divers of the king's officers which were there.

Among all the rest of the people in one of these canoes came two Portugals, which were of middle stature, and men of marvellous proper personage. They were each of them in a loose jerkin, and hose which came down from the waist to the ankle, because of the use of the country, and partly because it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance, (for they account it as a thing of great dislike among these heathens to wear either hose or shoes on their feet). They had on each of them a very fair and white lawn shirt, with falling bands on the same, very decently, only their bare legs excepted.

These Portugals were no small joy unto our general and all the rest of our company, for we had not seen any Christian that was our friend for a year and a half before. Our general used and entreated them singularly well, with banquets and music. They told us that they were no less glad to see us, than we to see them, and enquired of the estate of their country, and what was become of Don Antonio

their king, and whether he were living or no, for that they had not of long time been in Portugal, and that the Spaniards had always brought them word that he was dead.

Then our general satisfied them in every demand, assuring them that their king was alive, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queen, and that there was war between Spain and England, and that we had come under the King of Portugal into the South Sea, and had warred upon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled and sunk all the ships along the coast that we could meet withal, to the number of eighteen or twenty sails. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

On the other side they declared unto us the state of the island of Java. First the plentifulness and great choice and store of victuals of all sorts, and of all manner of fruits as before is set down. Then the rich and great merchandise which are there to be had. The name of the king of that part of the island was Raja Bolamboam, who was a man had in great majesty and fear among them. The common people may not bargain, sell, or exchange anything with any other nation without special licence from their king: and if any so do, it is present death for him.

The king himself is a man of great years, and hath an hundred wives; his son hath fifty. The custom of the country is, that whensoever the king doth die, they take the body so dead and burn it and preserve the ashes of him, and within five days next after, the wives of the said king so dead, according to the custom and use of the country, every one of them

go together to a place appointed, and the chief of the women, which was nearest to him in account, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth thither they all go, and turn their faces to the Eastward, and every one with dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a crise, and is as sharp as a razor) stab themselves to the heart, and with their hands all do be-bathe themselves in their own blood, and falling grovelling on their faces, so end their days. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strange.

The men of themselves be very politic and subtle, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they undertake, and wonderfully at commandment and fear of their king. For example: if their king command them to undertake any exploit, be it never so dangerous or desperate, they dare not nor will not refuse it, though they die every man in the execution of the same. For he will cut off the heads of every one of them which return alive without bringing of their purpose to pass; which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the south-east parts of the world: for they never fear any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himself hurt with lance or sword, he will willingly run himself upon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort end his days, or overcome his enemy. Moreover, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be fair of complexion and go more apparelled.

A REPORT OF VIRGINIA

By Thomas Heriot

1586

Pitch, tar, resin and turpentine. There are those kind of trees which yield them abundantly, and great store. In the very same island where we were seated, being fifteen miles in length, and five or six miles in breadth, there are few trees else, but of the same kind, the whole island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare virtues in physic for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uses than the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum Vitæ. For the description, the manner of using, and the manifold virtues thereof, I refer you to the book of Monardes, translated and entitled in English: The Joyful News from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteads, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things else, (of which there hath been proof made already,) to make up freight with other principal commodities, will yield profit.

Wine. There are two kinds of grapes that the soil doth yield naturally, the one is small and sour, of the ordinary size of ours in England, the other far larger, and of himself luscious sweet.

When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principal commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oil. There are two sorts of walnuts, both holding oil, but the one far more plentiful than the other.

When there are mills and other devices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store.

There are also three several kinds of berries in the form of Oak-Acorns, which also, by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yield very good and sweet oil.

Furthermore, the bears of the country are commonly fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatness, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oil, and hath many special uses.

Furs. All along the sea coast, there are great store of otters, which being taken by weirs and other engines made for the purpose, will yield good profit.

We hope also of marten furs, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the country there are store, although there were but two skins that came to our hands.

Luzernes also we have understanding of, although for the time we saw none. Deer skins dressed after the manner of chamois, or undressed, are to be had of the natural inhabitants, thousands yearly by way of traffic, for trifles, and no more waste or spoil of deer than is, and hath been ordinarily in time before.

Civet-cats. In our travels there was found one to have been killed by a savage or inhabitant, and in another place the smell where one or more had lately been, whereby we gather, besides than by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the country especially, one about four score, and the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found near the water side to be rocky, which by the trial of a mineral man was found to hold iron richly. It is found in many places of the country else. I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and dearness thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting ships.

Copper. A hundred and fifty miles into the main in two towns we found with the inhabitants divers small plates of copper, that had been made as we understood by the inhabitants who dwell further into the country, where, as they say, are mountains and rivers that yield also white grains of metal, which is to be deemed silver.

For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arrival in the country, I saw, and some others with me, two small pieces of silver grossly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the ears of a Wiroans or chief lord, who dwelt about fourscore miles from us: of whom, through enquiry, by the number of days and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place, or near, where

I afterwards understood the copper was made, and the white grains of metal found.

The aforesaid copper we also found, by trial, to contain silver.

Pearl. Sometimes in feeding on mussels we found some pearl, but it was our hap to meet with ragges or of a pied colour: not having yet discovered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the savage people, about five thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a fair chain, which for their likeness and uniformity in roundness, orientness, and piedness of many excellent colours, with equality in greatness, were very fair and rare; and had therefore been presented to Her Majesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storm, lost them, with many things else, in coming away from the country.

Sweet Gums of divers kinds, and many other apothecary drugs, of which we will make special mention, when we shall receive it from such men of skill in that kind, that in taking reasonable pains shall discover them more particularly than we have done, and than now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had provided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dyes of divers kinds. There is a sumach well known, and used in England for black. The seed of a herb called wasebur, little small roots called chappacor, and the bark of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge, which dyes are for

divers sorts of red; their goodness for our English clothes remains yet to be proved.

The inhabitants use them only for dyeing of hair, and colouring of their faces, and their mantles made of deer skins. And also for the dyeing of rushes to make artificial works withal in their mats and baskets; having no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for. If they will not prove merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall find apt uses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad, a thing of so great vent and uses amongst English dyers, which cannot be yielded sufficiently in our own country for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not be doubted, when as in the islands of the Azores, it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

DRAKE AT CADIZ

A brief relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleet prepared in the road of Cadiz, and of his destroying 100 sail of Barks: Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sacre, where also he took certain Forts; and so to the mouth of the river of Lisbon, and thence crossing over to the Isle of Sant Michael, surprised a mighty Carrack called the Sant Philip, coming out of the East India, which was the first of that kind that ever was seen in England.

Performed in the Year 1587.

HER Majesty being informed of a mighty preparation by sea, begun in Spain, for the invasion of England, by good advice of her grave and prudent Council, thought it expedient to prevent the same.

Whereupon she caused a Fleet of some 30 sails to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary.

Over that Fleet she appointed General Sir Francis Drake, (of whose manifold former good services, she had sufficient proof) to whom she caused four ships of her Royal Navy to be delivered—to wit, the Bonaventure wherein he went as General; the Lion under the conduct of Master William Borough, Controller of the Navy; the Dreadnought under the

command of Mr. Thomas Venner; and the Rainbow, whereof was Captain Mr. Henry Bellingham. Unto which four ships, two of her pinnaces were appointed as hand-maids.

'There were also added unto this fleet certain tall ships of the City of London, of whose especial good service the General made particular mention in his private letters directed to Her Majesty.

This Fleet set sail from the Sound of Plymouth, in April, towards the coast of Spain.

The sixteenth of the said month we met in the latitude of 40 degrees with two ships of Middlesborough, which came from Cadiz, by which we understood, that there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz and thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information our General with all possible speed, bending himself thither to cut off their said forces and provisions, upon the 19th of April entered with his Fleet into the harbour of Cadiz: where at our first entering we were assailed over against the town by six galleys, which notwithstanding in short time retired under their fortress. There were in the road 60 ships and many other small vessels, under the fortress. There fled about 20 French ships to Port Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might pass the shoals.

At our first coming in, we sank with our shot a ship of Raguza of a thousand tons, furnished with forty pieces of brass, and very richly laden.

There came two galleys more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vain, for they went away with the blows well beaten for their pains.

Before night we had taken thirty of the said ships, and became masters of the road, in despite of the galleys, which were glad to retire under the fort.

In the number of which ships there was one new one of an extraordinary hugeness, in burthen above twelve hundred tons, belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, being at that instant High Admiral of Spain. Five of them were great ships of Biscay, whereof four we fired as they were taking in the King's provision of victuals for the furnishing of his fleet at Lisbon. The fifth, being a ship about a thousand tons in burthen, laden with iron spikes, nails, iron hoops, horse-shoes, and other like necessaries, bound for the West Indies, we fired in like manner. Also we took a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, laden with wines for the King's provision, which we carried out to sea with us, and there discharged the said wines for our own store, and afterwards set her on fire.

Moreover we took three flyboats of three hundred tons apiece, laden with biscuits, whereof one was half unladen by us in the harbour, and there fired, and the other two we took in our company to the sea. Likewise there were fired by us ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oils, wheat and such like.

To conclude, the whole number of ships and barks (as we suppose) then burnt, sunk, and brought away with us, numbered thirty at least, being (in our judgement) about ten thousand tons of shipping. There were in sight of us at Porto Real about forty ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our abode there, by

reason of their continual shooting from the galleys, the fortresses and the shore, where continually, at places convenient, they planted new ordnance to offend us with; beside the inconvenience which we suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us.

Whereupon, when the flood came, we were not a little troubled to defend us from their terrible fire, which nevertheless was a pleasant sight for us to behold, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals and other provisions of the enemy.

Thus by the assistance of the Almighty, and the invincible courage and industry of our General, this strange and happy enterprise was achieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spain, which bred such corrosive in the heart of the Marquis Santa Cruz, High Admiral of Spain, that he never enjoyed a good day after, but within few months (as may justly be supposed) died of extreme grief and sorrow.

Thus having performed this notable service we came out of the road of Cadiz, on Friday morning the 21st of April with very small loss not worth the mentioning. After our departure ten of the galleys that were in the road came out, as it were in disdain of us, to make some pastime with their ordnance, at which time the wind scanted upon us, whereupon we cast about again and stood in with the shore, and came to anchor within a league of the town, where the said galleys, for all the former bragging, at length suffered us to ride quietly.

We have now had experience of galley-fight

wherein I can assure you, that only these four of Her Majesty's ships will make no account of twenty galleys, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were never galleys that had better place and fitter opportunities for their advantage to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire: we riding in a narrow gut, the place yielding no better, and driven to maintain the same, until we had discharged and fired the ships, which could not conveniently be done but upon the flood, at which time they might drive clear off us.

Thus being victualled with bread and wine at the enemy's cost for divers months (besides the provisions that we brought from home) our General dispatched Captain Crosse unto England with his letters, giving him further in charge to declare unto Her Majesty all the particulars of this our first enterprise. After whose departure, we shaped our course towards Cape Sacre, and in the way thither, we took at several times of ships, barks and caravels well near a hundred, laden with hoops, galley-oars, pipe-staves and other provisions of the King of Spain, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, all which we burned, having dealt favorably with the men, and sent them on shore.

We also spoiled and consumed all the fishing-boats and nets thereabout, to their great hindrance: and (as we suppose) to the utter overthrow of the rich fishing of their tunnies for the same year. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land: and the better to enjoy the benefit of the place, and to ride in harbour at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strong-

holds, which we took, some by force, and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the haven of Lisbon, anchoring near to Cascais, where the Marquis of Santa Cruz was with his galleys, who seeing us chase his ships ashore, and take and carry away his barks and caravels, was content to suffer us to tarry there quietly, and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one cannon-shot.

And when our General sent him word that he was there ready to exchange certain bullets with him, the Marquis refused his challenge, sending him word that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such commission from his King.

Our General, thus refused by the Marquis, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it convenient to spend no longer time upon this coast; and therefore, with consent of the chief of his company, he shaped his course towards the Isles of the Azores, and passing towards the Isle of St. Michael, within 20 or 30 leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meet with a Portugal carrack named St. Philip, being the same ship which in the voyage outward had carried the three Princes of Japan, that were in Europe, into the Indies.

This carrack without any great resistance he took, bestowing the people thereof in certain vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home to their country; and this was the first carrack that ever was taken coming from the East Indies, which the Portugals took for an evil sign, because the ship bare the King's own name.

The riches of this prize seemed so great unto the

whole company (as in truth it was) that they assured themselves every man to have a sufficient reward for his travel: and thereupon they all resolved to return home for England; which they happily did, and arrived in Plymouth the same summer, with their whole fleet, and this rich booty, to their own profit and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdom. And here, by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this carrack, wrought two extraordinary effects in England.

First, it taught others that carracks were no such terrors but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and firing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have been encouraged, being men as skilful in navigation and of no less courage than the Portugals, to share with them in the East Indies, where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath been supposed.

OF THE PERMIANS, SAMOITES, AND LAPPS

By Giles Fletcher

1588

THE Permians and Samoites that lie from Russia N. & N.E. are thought likewise to have taken their beginning from the Tartar kind. And it may partly be guessed by the fashion of their countenance, as having all broad, flat faces, as the Tartars have, except the Chircasses. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subject to the Russe. They live by hunting, and trading with their furs, as also do the Samoit, that dwell more towards the North Sea.

The Samoit hath his name (as the Russe saith) of eating himself, as if in times past they lived as cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eat all kind of raw flesh, whatsoever it be. But as the Samoites themselves will say, they were called Samoie, that is, of themselves, as though they were indigenous, or people bred upon that very soil, that never changed their seat from one place to another, as most nations have done. They are subject at this time to the Emperor of Russia.

I talked with certain of them, and find that they acknowledge one God; but represent him by such things as they have most use and good by. And therefore they worship the Sun, the Ollen, the Losh and such like. As for the story of Slata Baba, or the Golden Hag (which I have read in some maps and descriptions of these countries, to be an idol after the form of an old woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giveth them certain oracles, concerning the success and event of things, I found it to be a very fable.

Only in the province of Obdoria upon the sea side, near to the mouth of the great river Obba, there is a rock, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seem to bear the shape of a ragged woman, with a child in her arms (as the rock by the North Cape the shape of a Friar) where the Obdorian Samoites use much to resort, by reason of the commodity of the place for fishing; and there some time (as their manner is) conceive and practise their sorceries and ominous conjecturings about the good or bad speed of their journeys, fishing, hunting and such like.

They are clad in seal skins, with the hairy side outwards, down as low as the knees, with their breeches and nether-stocks of the same.

They are all black haired, naturally beard-less. And therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their looks; save that the women wear a lock of hair down along both ears. They live a wild and savage life, roving still from one place of the country to another, without any property of house or land more to one than to another. Their

leader or director in every company is their Papa or priest.

On the North of Russia next to Corelia, lieth the country of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the farthest point Northward (towards the North Cape) to the farthest part Southeast (which the Russe calleth Sweet Ness or Holy Nose, the English men, Cape Grace) about 345 versts or miles. From Sweet Ness to Candelox by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that country) is 90 miles or thereabouts. The whole country is either lakes or mountains, which towards the sea are called Tondro, because they are all of hard and craggy rock, but the inland parts well furnished with woods that grow on the hillsides, the lakes lying between.

Their diet is very bare and simple. Bread they have none, but feed only upon fish and fowl. They are subject to the Emperor of Russia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmark: which all exact tribute and custom of them (as was said before), but the Emperor of Russia beareth the greatest hand over them, and exacteth of them far more than the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed Lapps because of their brief and short speech.

The Russe divideth the whole nation of the Lapps into two sorts. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is the Norwegian Lapps, because they be of Danish religion. For the Danes and Norwegians they account for one people. The other, that have no religion at all, but live as brute and heathenish people, without God in the world, they call Dikoy Lapary, or the wild Lapps.

The whole nation is utterly unlearned, having not

so much as the use of any alphabet, or letter, among them.

For practice of witch-craft and sorcery, they pass all nations in the world. Though for enchanting of ships that sail along their coast (as I have heard it reported) and their giving of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they mean to hurt by tying of certain knots upon a rope, (somewhat like to the tale of Æolus his wind-bag) is a very fable, devised (as may seem) by themselves to terrify sailors from coming near their coast. Their weapons are the long bow and hand-gun, wherein they excel; as well for quickness to charge and discharge, as for nearness at the mark, by reason of their continual practice (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wild-fowl.

Their manner is in summer time to come down in great companies to the sea-side, to Wardhouse, Cola, Kegor, and the bay of Vedagoba, and there to fish for cod, salmon, and butt-fish, which they sell to the Russes, Danes and Norwegians, and now of late to the Englishmen that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Lapps and Corelians for their fish, oil and furs; whereof also they have some store.

They hold their mart at Cola, on S. Peter's day: what time the Captain of Wardhouse (that is resident there for the King of Denmark) must be present, or at least send his deputy, to set prices upon their stock-fish, train oil, furs and other commodities: as also the Russe Emperor's customer, or tribute taker, to receive his custom, which is ever paid before anything can be bought or sold. When their fishing is done, their manner is to draw their carbasses or

boats on shore, and there leave them with the keel turned upwards, till the next spring tide. Their travel to and fro is upon sleds drawn by the Ollen Deer; which they use to turn a grazing all the summer time in an island called Kildyn, (of a very good soil compared with the other parts of that country) and towards winter, when the snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home again, for the use of their sled.

A VOYAGE TO BENIN

The voyage set forth by Mr. John Newton and Mr. John Bird merchants of London to the Kingdom and City of Benin in Africa, with the ship called the Richard of Arundel and a pinnace, in the Year 1588. Briefly set down in this letter following, written by the chief factor in the voyage to the foresaid Merchants, at the time of the Ship's first arrival at Plymouth.

WORSHIPFUL SIRS, the discourse of our whole proceedings in this voyage will ask more time, and a person in better health than I am at present, so that I trust you will pardon me, till my coming up to you. In the mean time let this suffice.

Whereas we departed in the month of December from the coast of England, with our good ship the Richard of Arundel, and the pinnace, we held on our direct course towards our appointed port, and the 14th day of February following, we arrived in the haven of Benin, were we found not water enough to carry the ship over the bar, so we left her without, in the road: and with the pinnace and ship boat, into which we had put the chief of our merchandise, we went up the river to a place called Goto; where we arrived the 20th of February, the aforesaid Goto being the

nearest place that we could come to by water, to go to Benin.

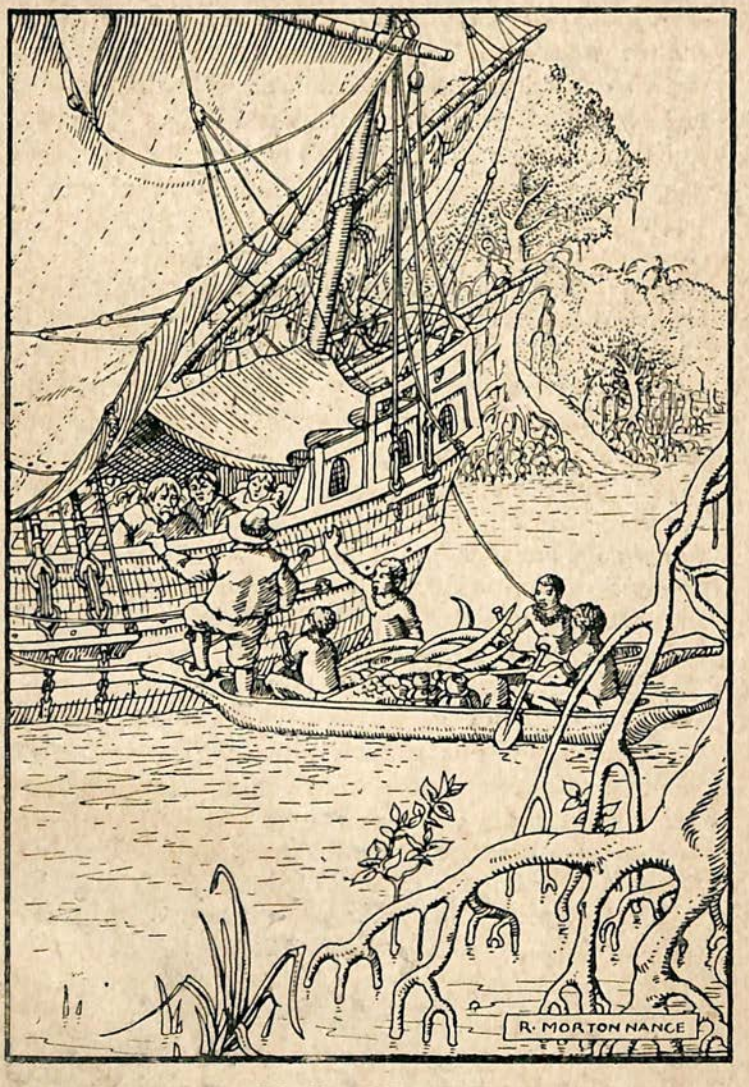
From thence we presently sent negroes to the King, to certify him of our arrival, and the cause of our coming thither: who returned to us again the 22nd day with a noble man in their company to bring us up to the city, and with two hundred negroes to carry our things. Hereupon, the 23rd day we delivered our merchandise to the King's factor, and on the 25th day, came to the great city of Benin, where we were well entertained.

The 26th day we went to the court to have spoken with the King, which (by reason of a solemn feast then kept amongst them) we could not do: but yet we spake with his Veadore, or chief man, that hath the dealing with the Christians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who answered us, that we should have all things to our desire, both in pepper and elephants' teeth.

The first of March we were admitted to the King's presence, and he made us the like courteous answer for our traffic. The next day we went again to the court, where the foresaid Veadore shewed us one basket of green pepper, and another of dry in the stalks.

We desired to have it plucked from the stalks, and made clean. He answered that it would ask time, but yet it should be done, and that against another year it should be in better readiness: and the reason why we found it so unprepared was, because in this King's time no Christians had ever resorted there to lade pepper.

The next day there were sent us twelve baskets,



ON THE BENIN RIVER

and so a little every day until March 9th, at which time we had made about sixty-four serons of pepper, and twenty-eight elephants' teeth.

In this time of our being at Benin, (our natures at this time not so well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of us into the disease of the fever, whereupon the Captain sent me down with those goods we already had received, to the rest of our men at Goto. Where being arrived, I found all the men of our pinnace sick also, and by reason of their weakness, not able to convey the pinnace and goods down to the place where our ship rode; but by good hap, within two hours after my coming to Goto, the boat came up from the ship to see how things stood with us, so that I put the goods into the boat, and went down towards the ship: but by that time I was come aboard, many of our men died; namely, Master Benson, the cooper, the carpenter, and three or four more, and I myself, in such a weak state, that I was not able to return again to Benin.

Whereupon I sent up Samuel Dunne and the surgeon with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needful; who at their coming to Benin, found the captain and your son William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempsteed very weak, who also died within two days after their coming thither.

This sorrowful accident caused them, with such pepper and teeth as they could find, speedily to return to the ship, as by the cargason will appear.

At their coming away the Veadore told them, that if they could or would stay any longer time, he would use all possible expedition to bring in more com-

modities; but the common sickness so increased and continued amongst us all, that by the time our men who remained were come aboard, we had so many sick and dead of our company, that we all looked for the same hap, and so thought to lose both our ship, life, country and all.

Very hardly and with much ado could we get up our anchors, but yet at the last by the mercy of God, having gotten them up, but leaving our pinnace behind us, we got to sea, and set sail, which was upon the 13th of April. After which, by little and little our men begun to gather up their crumbs and to recover some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Islands of Cape Verde and the main upon the 25th of July we came to the Islands of the Azores, where our men began afresh to grow ill and divers died, among whom Samuel Dunn was one, and as many as remained living, were in a hard case. But in the midst of our distress, it fell so well out, by God's good providence, that we met with your ship the bark Burre on this side the North Cape, which not only kept us good company, but also sent us six fresh men aboard, without whose help we should surely have tasted many inconveniences. But by this good means we are now at last arrived at Plymouth, this ninth day of September; and for want of better health at this time, I refer the further knowledge of more particulars till my coming to London.

Yours to command

ANTHONY INGRAM.

THE PRODUCTS OF BENIN

1589

THE commodities that we brought home were pepper and elephants' teeth, oil of palm, cloth made of cotton wool very curiously woven, and cloth made of the bark of palm trees.

Their money is pretty white shells, for gold and silver we saw none.

They have also great store of cotton growing. Their bread is a kind of roots; they call it Inamia, and when it is well sodden, I would leave our bread to eat of it; it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion. The root is as big as a man's arm. Our men upon fish-days would rather eat the roots with oil and vinegar than to eat good stock-fish. There are many palm trees, out of which they get great quantity of wine; which wine is white, and very pleasant, and we could buy two gallons of it for twenty shells.

They have good store of soap and it smelleth like beaten violets.

Also many pretty fine mats and baskets which they make, and spoons of elephants' teeth very curiously wrought with fowls and beasts upon them.

There is upon the coast wonderful great thunder and lightning, beyond anything I ever heard in any country, for it would make the deck or hatches

tremble under our feet, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearful, but God be thanked, we had no harm.

They would bring our men earthen pots of the quantity of two gallons, full of honey and honey-combs, for 100 shells. They would also bring great store of oranges and plantains, which is a fruit that groweth upon a tree, and is very like unto a cucumber, but very pleasant eating.

It hath pleased God of his merciful goodness to give me the knowledge how to preserve fresh water at little cost, which served us six months at sea, and when we came into Plymouth it was much wondered at by the principal men of the town, who said there was not sweeter water in any spring in Plymouth.

Thus doth God provide for his creatures, unto whom be praise now and for evermore. Amen.

THE VOYAGE OF THE DELIGHT TO THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN

WRITTEN BY W. MAGOTHS

THE fifth of August 1589, the worshipful Mr. John Chidley, of Chidley in the county of Devon, esquire, with Mr. Paul Wheele and Captain Andrew Merick, set forth from Plymouth with three tall ships, the one called the Wild Man, of three hundred tons, wherein went for General the aforesaid Mr. John Chidley, and Benjamin Wood as Master; the other called the White Lion, whereof Mr. Paul Wheele was Captain and John Ellis Master, of the burthen of three hundred and forty tons; the third the Delight, of Bristol, wherein went Mr. Andrew Merick as captain, and Robert Burnet master, with two pinnaces of fourteen or fifteen tons apiece. The general in his ship had a hundred and eighty persons; Mr. Paul Wheele had a hundred and forty; in our own ship we were ninety-one men and boys.

Our voyage was intended by the Strait of Magellan for the South Sea, and chiefly for the famous province of Arauco on the coast of Chili. We kept company together to the isles of the Canaries and so forward to Cape Blanco, standing near the north-

erly latitude of twenty degrees on the coast of Barbary, where some of our people went on shore, finding nothing to their content.

Within twelve days after our departure from this place, the Delight, wherein I, William Magoths, was, lost the company of the other two great ships, and the two small pinnaces. Howbeit we constantly kept our course according to our directions along the coast of Brazil, and by the River of Plate, without touching anywhere on land until we came to Port Desire in the latitude of 48 degrees to the southward of the equinoctial. Before we arrived at this place there died of our company by God's visitation of sundry diseases sixteen persons.

We stayed in this harbour seventeen days to grave our ship and refresh our wearied people, hoping here to have met with our consorts: which fell out contrary to our expectations. During our abode in this place we found two little springs of fresh water, which were upon the northwesterly part of the land, and lighted upon good store of seals both old and young. From hence we sailed toward the Strait of Magellan, and entered the same about the first of January. And coming to Penguin island within the Strait we took and salted certain hogsheads of penguins, which must be eaten with speed; for we found them to be of no long continuance; we also furnished ourselves with fresh water. And here at the last sending off our boat to the island for the rest of our provision, we lost her and fifteen men in her by force of foul weather; but what became of them we could not tell. Here also in this storm we lost two anchors.

From hence we passed farther into the strait, and by Port Famine we spake with a Spaniard, who told us that he had lived in those parts six years, and that he was one of the four hundred men that were sent thither by the King of Spain in the year 1582, to fortify and inhabit there, to hinder the passage of all strangers that way into the South Sea. But that and the other Spanish colony being both destroyed by famine, he said he had lived in a house by himself a long time, and relieved himself with his caliver until our coming thither.

Here we made a boat of the boards of our chests; which being finished we sent seven armed men in the same on land on the north shore, being wafted on land by the savages with certain white skins; who as soon as they came on shore were presently killed by a hundred of the wild people in the sight of two of our men, which rowed them on shore, and only escaped back again to us with the boat. After this traitorous slaughter of our men, we fell back again with our ship to the north eastward of Port Famine to a certain road, where we refreshed ourselves with mussels, and took in water and wood.

At this time we took in the Spaniard aforesaid, and so sailed forward again into the strait. We passed seven or eight times ten leagues westward beyond Cape Froward, being still encountered with mighty north-west winds. These winds and the current were so vehement against us, that they forced us back as much in two hours as we were getting up in eight hours. Thus after we had spent six weeks in the Strait striving against the fury of the elements, and had at sundry times, partly by

casualty and partly by sickness, lost thirty-eight of our brethren, and three anchors; and now having but one another left us, and small hope of victuals, and (which was not the least mischief) divers of our company raising dangerous mutinies, we consulted, though somewhat with the latest, for the safeguard of our lives to return while there was some small hope remaining, and so set sail out of the strait homeward about the fourteenth of February 1590.

We returned back again by the River of Plate; and sailing near the coast of Brazil we met with a Portugal ship of eighty tons, which rode at an anchor upon the coast, who as soon as she descried us to chase her, incontinently weighed, and ran herself on ground between the island of San Sebastian and the mainland. But we for want of a good boat, and by reason of the foul weather, were neither able to board her, nor to go on shore. Thence in extreme misery we shaped our course to the Isles of Cape Verde, and so passed to the Isles of the Açores, the Canaries being something out of our course; the first land that we met withal in our narrow sea was the Isle of Alderney. And having now but six men of all our company left alive, the master and his two mates and chief mariners being dead, we ran in with Monville de Hage eight miles to the west of Cherbourg in Normandy. Where the next day after our coming to an anchor, having but one in all left, being the last of August 1590, by the foul weather that rose the anchor came home, and our ship drave on the rocks. And the Normans which were commanded by the governor of Cherbourg (who came down to us that night) to have laid out another anchor for her,

neglecting his commandment, suffered her miserably to be split, with desire to enrich themselves by her wreck.

Within few days after this last mischance four of us being Englishmen departed from Cherbourg, and passed home for England in a bark of Weymouth, leaving the two strangers there behind us. The names of us six that returned of all our company were these: William Magoths of Bristol, Richard Bush, John Reade, Richard Hodgkins of Westbury near Bristol. The two strangers: Gabriel Valerosa, a Portugal: Peter, a Briton.

THE EARL OF CUMBERLAND'S VOYAGE TO THE AZORES

WRITTEN BY EDWARD WRIGHT

1589

NOW we went merrily before the wind with all the sails we could bear, insomuch that in the space of twenty-four hours, we sailed near 47 leagues, that is, seven score English miles, betwixt Friday at noon and Saturday at noon (notwithstanding the ship was very foul, and much grown with being long at sea) which caused some of our company to make account they would see what running at tilt there would be at Whitehall upon Queen's Day. Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keep in England with their shares of the prizes we had taken.

But so it befell that we kept a cold Christmas with the Bishop and his Clerks (rocks that lie to the W. of Scilly and the western parts of England), for soon after, the wind changing, came about to eastwards (the worse part of the heavens for us, from which the wind could blow) in such sort, that we could not fetch any part of England.

And hereupon also, our allowance of drink, which was scant enough before, was yet more scant, because of the scarcity thereof in the ship. So that now a

man was allowed but half a pint at a meal, and that many times cold water, and scarcely sweet.

Notwithstanding this, it was a happy estate in comparison of that which followed: for from half a pint, we came down to a quarter, and that lasted not long either, so that by reason of this great scarcity of drink, and contrariety of wind, we thought to put into Ireland, and there relieve our wants. But when we came near there, lying at hull all night (tarrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the safer bring our ship into some convenient harbour) we were driven so far to lee-ward, that we could touch no part of Ireland. So with heavy hearts and sad cheer, we were constrained to return back again, and wait till it should please God to send us a fair wind, either for England or Ireland.

In the mean time, we were allowed every man three or four spoonsful of vinegar to drink at a meal: for other drink we had none, saving only at two or three meals, when we had instead as much wine which was wringed out of wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare (for by reason of our great need of drink, we durst eat but very little) we continued for the space of a fortnight, or thereabout, excepting that now and then we feasted. And that was, when there fell any hail or rain.

The hail-stones we gathered up and ate more pleasantly than if they had been the sweetest comfits in the world.

The rain-drops were so carefully saved, that as near as we could manage it, not one was lost in all our ship.

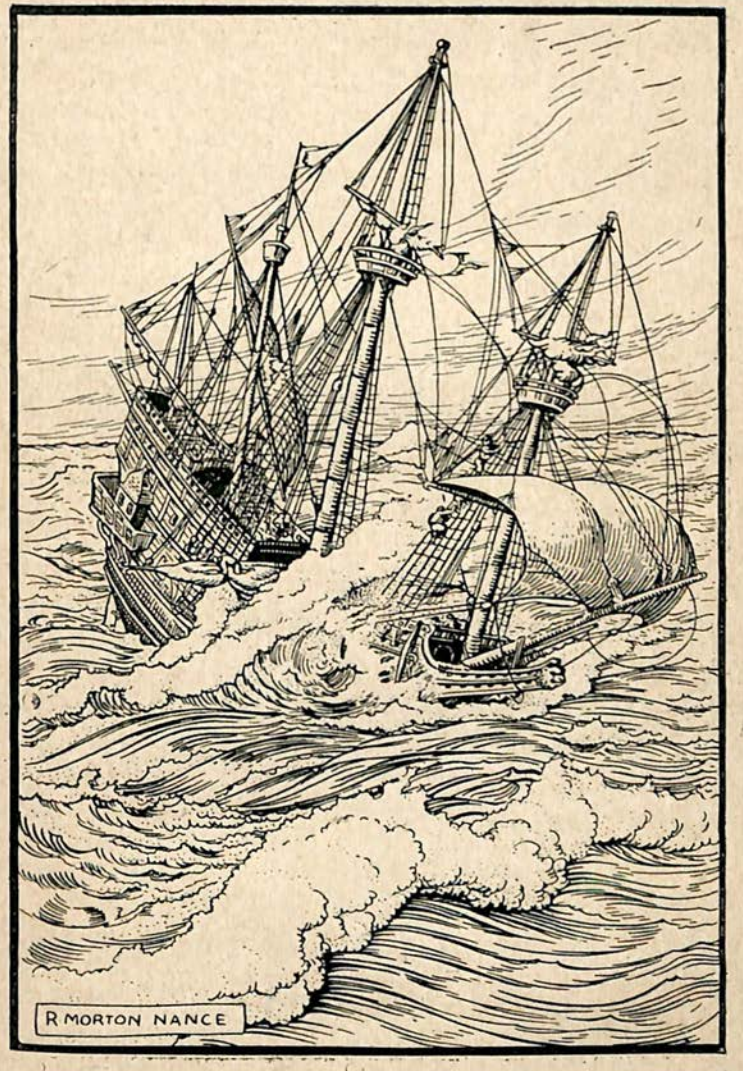
Some hung up sheets, tied with cords by the four

corners, and a weight in the middle, that the water might run down thither, and so be received into some vessel set or hung underneath. Some who had no sheets, hung up napkins and cloths, watched them till they were thoroughly wet, then squeezed and sucked out the water.

And the water which fell down, and was trodden under foot, was not lost I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea sometimes with strife and contention) at every hole and other places where it ran, with dishes, pots, cans, and jars, whereof, some drank hearty draughts, even as it was, mud and all, without waiting to cleanse or settle it. Others cleansed it first, but not often, for it was so thick, and went so slowly through, that they ill endured to tarry so long, and were loth to lose too much of such precious stuff.

Some lapped with their tongues (like dogs) the boards under feet, the sides, rails and masts of the ship. Others who were more ingenious, fastened girdles or ropes about the masts, daubing tallow between them and the mast, that the rain might not run down between, in such sort, that those ropes or girdles, hanging lower on the one side, than on the other, a spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part, that all the raindrops that came down the mast might meet together at that place and be received. He who obtained a can of water, by these means, was spoken of, sued to, and envied as a rich man.

Some of the poor Spaniards whom we had taken (who notwithstanding they had the same allowance as our own men) would come and crave of us, for love of God, but so much water as they could hold



A STORM OFF THE COAST OF IRELAND

in the hollow of their hand; and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremity, to teach them some humanity, instead of their accustomed barbarity both to us, and other nations heretofore. They also put bullets of lead into their mouths to slake their thirst.

In every corner of the ship we heard lamentable cries of sick and wounded men, sounding wofully in our ears, crying out pitifully and complaining of want of drink, being ready to die, yea many dying from lack thereof. So by reason of this great extremity, we lost many more men than we had done all the voyage before. Having before this time been so well and sufficiently provided for, that we lived in a manner as well and healthfully, and died as few as if we had been in England, whereas now, almost daily, some were cast over-board.

But December 2nd 1589, was a festival with us, for then it rained a good time and we saved a pretty store of rain water (though we were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled ourselves full beside, though it was muddy and bitter from washing the ship; but with some sugar to sweeten, it went merrily down, yet we remembered and wished for (with all our hearts) many a conduit, pump, spring and stream of clear, sweet, running water in England.

And how miserable we had considered some poor souls, whom we had seen driven by thirst to drink thereof, and how happy we should now have thought ourselves, if we might have had our fill of the same. Yet we should have fared better with this poor feasting, if we might have had our meat and drink (such and so much as it was) stand quietly before us.

But beside all the former extremities, we were so

tossed and turmoiled with such horribly stormy and tempestuous weather, that every man had best hold fast his can, cup, and dish in his hands, yea, and himself too many times, by the ropes, rails, or sides of the ship, or else he should soon find all under feet. Herewith our main sail was torn from the yards, and blown over-board, quite away, into the sea without recovery, and our other sails so rent and torn (from side to side some of them) that hardly any of them escaped whole.

The raging waves, foaming surges of the sea, came rolling like mountains, one after another, and over-raked the ship like a mighty river running over it; whereas in fair weather, it was nearly 20 feet above the water. Now we might cry out with the princely prophet, Psalm 107 verse 26:

They mount up to heaven, and descend to the deep, so that their soul melteth away for trouble.

They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone.

With this extremity of foul weather, the ship was so tossed and shaken, that by the creaking noise it made, and by the leaking, which was now more than ordinary, we were in great fear it would be shaken asunder.

Notwithstanding it pleased God of his great goodness to deliver us out of this danger. Forthwith, a new main sail was made, and fastened to the yard, and the rest repaired as time and place permitted; which we had no sooner done, but yet again we were likely to have lost our new main sail, had not Mr. William Anthony, the master of the ship himself (which none else would or durst) ventured with danger

of drowning, creeping along the main yard (which was let down close to the rails) to gather it up out of the sea, and fastened it thereto, being in the meanwhile oft-times ducked over head and ears into the sea.

These storms were so terrible, that there were some in our company, which confessed they had gone to sea for the space of twenty years, and had never seen the like, and vowed, if ever they returned safe home, they would never come to sea again.

The last of November, at night, we met with an English ship, out of which (because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should have had the next morning two or three tuns of wine, which as they said, was all the provision of drink they had, except a butt or two, which they must needs reserve for their own use; but after that, we heard no more of them till they were set on land upon the coast of Ireland. It then appeared, that they might have spared us much more than they pretended they could. So they could well have relieved our great need, and have had sufficient for themselves also, to last them till their arrival in England.

The first of December at night we spoke with another English ship, and had some beer of her, but not sufficient to carry us into England, so were constrained to put into Ireland, the wind so serving.

The next day we came to an anchor, not far from St. Kelmes, under the land and wind, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe harbour to ride in) the next morning we went about to weigh anchor, but some of our men being hurt at the capstan, we were fain to give over and leave it

behind, holding on our course to Ventry haven, where we safely arrived the same day. That place being a very safe and convenient harbour for us, we might now sing with just cause: They that go down to the sea.

As soon as we had anchored here, my Lord went forthwith on shore and presently brought fresh water and fresh food, as sheep, pigs, and hens, to refresh his company withal. Notwithstanding himself had lately been very weak, and tasted of the same extremity as his company did. For during our former want, having a little fresh water left him in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunk, and dried up.

Soon after, the sick and wounded men were carried to the next principal town, called Dingenacush, being about three miles distant from the foresaid haven, where our ship rode, to the eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed; and had the surgeons daily to attend upon them. Here we well refreshed ourselves, whilst the Irish harp sounded sweetly in our ears. And here we, who for former extremities were in manner half dead, had our lives (as it were) restored unto us again.

THE VALIANT FIGHT PERFORMED IN THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR, BY THE CENTURION OF LONDON, AGAINST FIVE SPANISH GALLEYS

APRIL 1591

IN the month of November, 1590, there were sundry ships appertaining to several merchants of London, which were rigged and fraught with merchandize for sundry places within the Strait of Gibraltar: which, together having wind and weather which oft-time fell out very uncertain, arrived safely in short space, at such places as they desired.

Among which was the Centurion of London, a very tall ship of burden, yet weakly manned, as appeareth by the discourse following.

The aforesaid ship called the Centurion, safely arrived at Marseilles, where after they had delivered their goods, they stayed about the space of five weeks or better, and then took in lading, intending to return to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marseilles, there were sundry other ships of smaller burden, which entreated the Master thereof (Robert Bradshaw dwelling at Limehouse) to stay

a day or two for them, until they were in readiness to depart with them, thereby persuading them that it would be far better for them to stay and go together, in respect of their assistance, than to depart of themselves without company, and so haply for want of aid, fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish galleys.

Upon which reasonable persuasion, notwithstanding that this ship was of such sufficiency that they might hazard her in the danger of the sea, yet they stayed for those little ships, according to their request, and together they put to sea from Marseilles, and vowed in general not to fly from one another, if they should happen to meet with any Spanish galleys.

These small ships, accompanied with the Centurion, sailing along the coast of Spain, were upon Easter Day in the Strait of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed, where immediately they saw sundry galleys make towards them, in very valiant and courageous sort. The chief leaders and soldiers in those galleys, bravely apparelled in silk coats, with their silver whistles about their necks, and great plumes of feathers in their hats, with their calivers shot at the Centurion as fast as they could, so that by ten of the clock, and somewhat before, they had boarded the Centurion, which before their coming had prepared for them, and intended to give them as sour a welcome as they might.

Thereupon, having prepared their close fights, and all things being in readiness, they called upon God, on whom only they trusted. And having made their prayers, and cheered one another to fight as long as

life endured, they began to discharge their great ordnance upon the galleys, but the little ships durst not come forward, but lay aloof, while five galleys had boarded them: yea, and with their grappling irons, made their galleys fast to the said ship called the Centurion.

The galleys were grappled to the Centurion in this manner: two lay on one side, and two on another, and the Admiral lay full in the stern, which galled and battered the Centurion so sore, that her main mast was greatly weakened, her sails filled with many holes, and the mizzen and stern made almost unserviceable.

During this time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides; in which the trumpet of the Centurion sounded forth the deadly points of war, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their adversaries. On the contrary part, there was no warlike music in the Spanish galleys except their whistles of silver, which they sounded forth to their own contentment.

In this fight, many a Spaniard was turned into the sea, and they in multitudes came crawling and hung upon the side of the ship, intending to have entered the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gave them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble alive into the sea, being without remedy ever to get up alive. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boys forty and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemy that many a brave and lusty Spaniard lost his life.

The Centurion was fired five several times with wildfire and other provision, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpose. Yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the master, it did no harm at all. In each galley there were about two hundred soldiers: who together with the shot, spoiled, rent and battered the Centurion very sorely, shot through her main mast, and slew four of the men in the said ship, one of them being the master's mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by means of splinters, which the Spaniards shot: yea, in the end when their provision was almost spent, they were constrained to shoot at them hammers, and the chains from their slaves, and yet, God be thanked, they received no more damage. But by spoiling and over-wearying of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constrained them to ungrapple themselves and get them going.

If there had been any other fresh ship or succour to have relieved and assisted the Centurion, they had sunk or taken all those galleys and slain their soldiers.

The Dolphin lay aloof, and durst not come near, while the other two small ships fled away, so that one of the galleys went from the Centurion and attacked the Dolphin, which ship immediately was set afire with their own powder, whereby both men and ship perished. But whether it was their good will or not, that was not known unto the Centurion; but sure, if it had come forward and assisted the Centurion, it is to be supposed that it had not perished.

Five hours and a half this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart to breathe them-

selves. But when the Spaniards were gone, they never durst return to fight. Yet the next day six other galleys came and looked at them, but durst not meddle with them.

Thus God delivered them from the hands of their enemies, and gave them the victory, for which they heartily praised him, and not long after, safely arrived in London.

There were present at this fight Master John Hawers, Merchant, and sundry other of good account.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE

A report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Azores, the last of August 1591, betwixt the Revenge, one of Her Majesty's Ships, and an Armada of the King of Spain.

Penned by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight.

BECAUSE the rumours are diversely spread, as well in England as in the Low Countries and elsewhere, of this late encounter between Her Majesty's Ships and the Armada of Spain; and that the Spaniards according to their usual manner fill the world with their vain-glorious vaunts, making great appearance of victories, when on the contrary, themselves are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possess the ignorant multitude, by anticipating and forerunning false reports; it is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to overcome falsehood and untruth, that the beginning, continuance, and success of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Grenville, and other her Majesty's Captains, with the Armada of Spain, should be truly set down and published without partiality or false imagination.

And it is no marvel that the Spaniard should seek by false and slanderous pamphlets, advisoes, and

letters, to cover their own loss and to derogate from others their due honours, especially in this fight being performed far off: seeing they were not ashamed in the year 1588, when they purposed the invasion of this land, to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in words, which they pleaded to have obtained against this Realm; and spread the same in a most false sort over all parts of France, Italy and elsewhere.

When shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to all nations how their Navy, which they termed invincible, consisting of 140 sail of ships, not only of their own kingdom, but strengthened with the greatest argosies, Portugal carracks, Florentines and huge hulks of other countries, were by thirty of Her Majesty's own ships of war, and a few of our own Merchants, by the wise, valiant, and courageous conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, High Admiral of England, beaten and shuffled together, even from the Lizard in Cornwall, first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ship: from Portland to Calais, where they lost Hugo de Moncado, with the gallias of which he was captain, and from Calais, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland.

Where, for the sympathy of their religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crushed against the rocks; and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slain, and taken, and so sent from village to village, coupled in halters, to be shipped into England.

Where Her Majesty, of her princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their countries, to witness and recount the worthy achievements of their invincible and dreadful Navy; of which, the number of soldiers, the fearful burthen of their ships, the commanders' names of every squadron, with all magazines of provisions, were put in print, as an Army and Navy unresistable, and disdaining prevention.

With all so great and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about England so much as sink, or take, one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours: or ever burnt so much as one sheep-cote of this land. Whereas on the contrary, Sir Francis Drake, with only 800 soldiers, not long before landed in their Indies and forced Santiago, St. Domingo, Cartagena, and the forts of Florida.

After that, Sir John Norris marched from Peniche in Portugal, with a handful of soldiers, to the gates of Lisbon, being above forty English miles: where the Earl of Essex himself, and other valiant gentlemen braved the City of Lisbon, encamped at the very gates. From whence, after many days' abode, finding neither promised party, nor provision to barter, they made retreat by land, in despite of all their garrisons both of horse and foot.

In this sort I have a little digressed from my first purpose, only by the necessary comparisons of theirs and our actions, the one covetous of honour, without vaunt of ostentation, the other so greedy to purchase the opinion of their own affairs, and by false rumours to resist the blasts of their own dishonours, as they

will not only not blush to spread all manner of untruths; but even for the least advantage, be it but for the taking of one poor adventurer of the English, will celebrate the victory with bonfires in every town, always spending more in faggots than the purchase was worth they obtained.

Whereas we never thought it worth the consumption of two billets, when we have taken eight or ten of their Indian ships at one time, and twenty of the Brazil fleet. Such is the difference between true valour, and ostentation; and between honourable actions and frivolous, vain-glorious vaunts. But now to return to my purpose.

The Lord Thomas Howard with six of her Majesty's ships, six victuallers of London, the bark Raleigh, and two or three pinnaces riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the westerly islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain Middleton of the approach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton, being in a very good sailer, had kept them company three days before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces, and also to give advice to my Lord Thomas, of their approach.

He had no sooner delivered the news but the fleet was in sight; many of our ships' companies were on shore in the island; some providing ballast for their ships, others filling of water, and refreshing themselves from the land, with such things as they could either for money or by force recover.

By reason whereof, our ships being all pestered, and rummaging everything out of order, very light from want of ballast, and what was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every ship

sick, and utterly unserviceable: for in the Revenge there were ninety diseased, in the Bonaventure not so many in health as could handle her main sail.

For had not twenty men been taken out of a bark of Sir George Carey's, his being commanded to be sunk, and those appointed to her, she had hardly ever have recovered England. The rest for the most part, were in little better state. The names of Her Majesty's Ships were these as followeth: The Defiance, which was Admiral, the Revenge, Vice-Admiral, the Bonaventure, commanded by Captain Cross, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foresight by Mr. Thomas Vavasour, and the Crane by Duffield.

The Foresight and Crane being small ships, only the others were of middle size; the rest, besides the bark Raleigh, commanded by Captain Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none.

The Spanish fleet having shrouded their approach by reason of the Island, were now so soon at hand, that our ships had scarcely time to weigh their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slip their cables and set sail.

Sir Richard Grenville was the last that weighed, to recover the men that were upon the island, who otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas, with the rest, very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Grenville not being able to do, was persuaded by the master and others to cut his main-sail, and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of the ship, for the squadron of Seville were on his weather bow.

But Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the

enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die than to dishonour himself, his country, and Her Majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons, in despite of them, and enforce those of Seville to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprang their luff, and fell under the lee of the Revenge. But the other course had been the better, and might right well have been answered in so great an impossibility of prevailing.

Notwithstanding, out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded. In the mean while, as he attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the wind of him, and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort, that the ship could neither make way, nor feel the helm, so huge and high-carged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons, which after laid the Revenge aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sails, the ships which were under his lee luffing up, also laid him aboard: of which the next was the Admiral of the Biscanies, a very mighty and puissant ship commanded by Brittandona. The said Philip carried three tier of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier.

She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her stern ports. After the Revenge was entangled with the Philip, four others boarded her: two on her larboard and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoon, continued very terrible all that evening.

But the great San Philip having received the lower

tier of the Revenge, discharged with crossbar-shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered, but we cannot report it for truth.

The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners, in some five hundred, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all beside the mariners, but the servants of the commanders, and some few voluntary gentlemen only. After many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Revenge, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships, or into the sea.

In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of London, having received some shot through her by the Armadas, fell under the lee of the Revenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command her, being but one of the victuallers and of small force. Sir Richard bid her save herself, and leave him to his fortune.

After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted, and some hours of the night, many of our men were hurt and slain, and one of the great galleons of the Armada, and the Admiral of the hulks both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made.

Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt, almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered.

But two of the Revenge's own company, brought home in a ship of lime from the islands, examined by some of the Lords and others, affirmed that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the upper deck, till an hour before midnight, and then being shot in the body with a musket as he was dressing, was again shot in the head, and also his chirurgion wounded to death.

This agreeth also with an examination taken by Sir Francis Godolphin, of four other mariners of the same ship being returned, which examination the said Sir Francis sent unto master William Killegrue of Her Majesty's Privy Chamber. But to return to the fight. The Spanish ships which attempted to board the Revenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she never having less than two mighty galleons by her sides, and aboard her. So that ere the morning, from three of the clock the day before, there had been fifteen several Armadas had assailed her: and all so ill approved their entertainment, that they were by the break of day far more willing to hearken to a composition, than hastily to make any more assaults or entries.

But as the day increased, so our men decreased; and as the light grew more and more, so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, except one small ship named the Pilgrim, commanded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the success, but in the morning bearing with the Revenge, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous hounds, but escaped.

All the powder of the Revenge to the last barrel

was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest injured. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the ballast.

A small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings, and enterings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron; all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men or weapons.

The masts all beaten over-board, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left overhead, either for flight or defence.

Sir Richard, finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in these fifteen hours' fight the assault of fifteen several Armadas, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation, eight hundred shot of great artillery, beside many assaults and entries; and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him, (the Revenge not able to move one way or another, but as she was moved by the waves and billow of the sea) commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship: that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards. Seeing in so

many hours' fight, and with so great a navy they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours' time, above ten thousand men, and fifty and three sail of men of war, to perform it withal. And he persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else; but as they had like valiant resolute men repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation, by prolonging their own lives for a few hours, or a few days. The master gunner readily consented and divers others, but the captain and the master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them, alleging that the Spaniards would be as ready to entertain a composition as they were willing to offer the same, and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter.

And whereas Sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of Her Majesty, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves, they answered, that the ship had six feet of water in the hold, three shot under water, which were so weakly stopped as with the first working of the sea she must needs sink, and was besides so crushed and bruised, as she could never be removed out of the place.

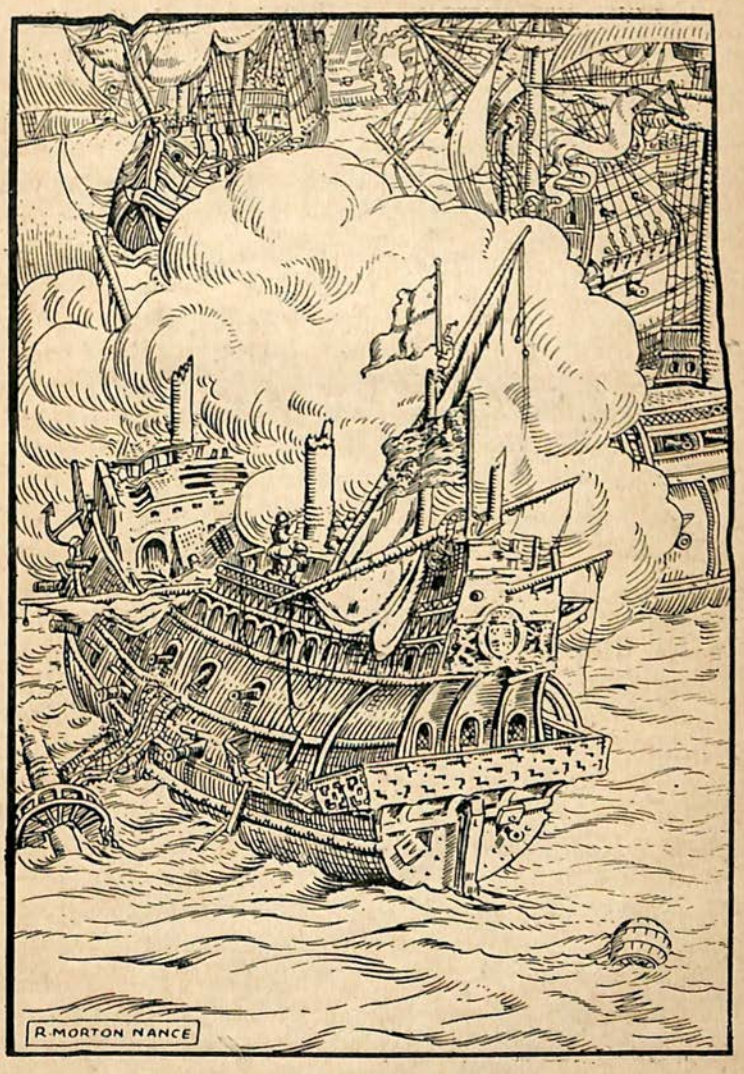
And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons, the master of the Revenge (while the captain won unto himself the greater party) was conveyed aboard the General Don Alonso de Baçan.

Who, finding none over hasty to enter the Revenge again, doubting lest Sir Richard would have blown them up and himself, and perceiving by the report of the master of the Revenge his dangerous disposition, yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent to England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear, and in the mean season to be free from galley or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather consented as well, as I have said, for fear of further loss and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Grenville: whom, for his notable valour, he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answer was returned, and safety of life promised, the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from Sir Richard and the master gunner, it being no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life. The master gunner, finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force withheld and locked in his cabin.

Then the General sent many boats aboard the Revenge and divers of our men, fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the General and other ships.

Sir Richard thus over-matched, was sent unto by Alonso de Baçan to remove out of the Revenge, the ship being marvellous unsavoury, filled with blood and bodies of dead and wounded men like a slaughter-house. Sir Richard replied that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not.



THE REVENGE

And as he was carried out of the ship he swooned, and reviving again desired the company to pray for him.

The General used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness, and greatly bewailing the danger he was in.

It was unto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution seldom approved, to see one ship turn toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repel the assaults and entries of so many soldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish Captain of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being severed from the rest in a storm, was taken by the Lion of London, a small ship, and is now prisoner in London.

Sir Richard Grenville was carried into the ship called S. Paul, wherein was the Admiral of the fleet Don Alonso de Baçan: there his wounds were dressed by the Spanish surgeons, but Alonso himself would neither see him nor speak with him.

All the rest of the captains and gentlemen went to visit him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and stout heart; for that he shewed not any sign of faintness nor changing of colour. But feeling the hour of death to approach he spake these words in Spanish and said: Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, that hath fought for his country, Queen, religion and honour, whereby my soul most joyful departeth out of this body, and shall always leave behind it an

everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier, that hath done his duty, as he was bound to do.

When he had finished these words, he gave up the ghost, with great and stout courage, and no man could perceive any true sign of heaviness in him.

SIR JOHN BURROUGH TAKES THE MADRE DE DIOS

1592

IN this sort they lay from the 29th of June to the third of August, at which time Captain Thomson, in the Dainty, had first sight of the huge carrack Madre de Dios, one of the greatest receipt belonging to the Crown of Portugal. The Dainty being of excellent sail, got the start of the rest of our fleet, and began the conflict somewhat to her cost, with the slaughter and hurt of divers of her men.

Within a while after, Sir John Burrough, in the Roebuck of Sir Walter Raleigh, was at hand to second her: and saluted her with shot of great ordnance, and continued the fight within musket-shot, assisted by Captain Thomson and Captain Newport, till Sir R. Crosse, the Vice-Admiral of the fleet, came up, being to leeward,—at whose arrival Sir J. Burrough demanded of him what was best to be done? He answered, that if the carrack were not boarded, she would recover the shore, and fire herself as the other had done.

Whereupon Sir J. Burrough concluded to entangle her, and Sir R. Crosse also promised to fasten himself to her together at the instant, which was performed.

But after a while, Sir John receiving a shot from a cannon perier under water, and ready to sink, desired Sir R. Crosse to fall off, that he might also clear himself, and save his ship from sinking, which with difficulty he did. For both the Roebuck and the Foresight were so entangled as with much ado could they clear themselves.

The same evening Sir R. Crosse, finding the carrack then sure, and drawing near the island, persuaded his company to board her again, or else there was no hope to recover her. After many excuses and fears, they were by him encouraged, and so fell athwart her foreships all alone: and so hindered her sailing, that the rest had time to come up to his succour, and to recover the carrack ere she gained the land.

Towards evening, after he had fought with her alone three hours single, my Lord of Cumberland's two ships came up, and with very little loss entered with Sir R. Crosse, who had in that time destroyed their courage, and made the assault easy for the rest.

The General, having disarmed the Portugals, and stowed them, for better security, on all sides, had first presented to his sight the true proportion of the vast body of this carrack, which did then, and still may, justly provoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with such a sight. Albeit, this first appearance of the hugeness thereof yielded sights enough to entertain our men's eyes.

Yet the pitiful object of so many bodies slain and dismembered, could not but attract each man's eye to see, and heart to lament, and hands to help those miserable people, whose limbs were so lacerated with

the violence of shot, and pain made grievous by the multitude of wounds. No one could step without coming in contact with a dead body, especially near the helm, where many fell suddenly from moving to dying.

For the greatness of the steerage requiring the labour of twelve or fourteen men at once, and some of our ships beating her in at the stern with their ordnance, oftentimes with one shot slew four or five labouring on either side of the helm, whose places were kept filled by fresh supplies, and our artillery still sending continual volleys upon them, it could not be but that much blood should be shed in that place. Whereupon our General, moved with singular commiseration of their misery, sent his own surgeons to attend them, denying no possible help or relief that he or any of his company could afford them.

Amongst those whose state this chance had made very deplorable was Don Fernando de Mendoça, Grand Captain and Commander of this carrack, who indeed was descended from the house of Mendoça in Spain, but being married in Portugal, lived there as one of that nation: a gentleman well stricken in years, well spoken, of comely personage and of good stature, but of hard fortune. In his several services against the Moors, he was twice taken prisoner, and both times ransomed by the King.

In a former voyage of return from East India, he was driven upon the Baxos or sands of Juda, near the coast of Cephala, being then also captain of a carrack which was there lost; and he, though escaping the sea danger, fell into the hands of infidels on land, who kept him under long and grievous servitude.

Once more the King, carrying a loving respect to the man, and desirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this easterly navigation, and committed to him the conduct of this carrack, wherein he went from Lisbon General of the whole fleet; and in that degree had returned, if the Viceroy of Genoa, embarked for Portugal in the Bon Jesus had not, by reason of his late office, been preferred.

Sir John intending not to add too much affliction to the afflicted, moved with pity and compassion of human misery, in the end resolved freely to dismiss this Captain and the most part of his followers to their own country, and for the same purpose bestowed them in certain vessels furnished with all kinds of necessary provisions.

This business thus dispatched, good leisure had he to take such view of the goods as conveniency might afford.

And having very prudently (to cut off the unprofitable spoil and pillage, to which he saw the minds of many inclined) seized upon the whole to Her Majesty's use, after a short and slender rummaging and searching of such things as first came to hand, he perceived that the value would arise nothing contrary to expectation; but that the variety and grandeur of all rich commodities, would be more than sufficient to content both the adventurer's desire and the soldier's travail.

And here, I cannot but enter into consideration and acknowledgment of God's great favour towards our nation, who by putting this purchase into our hands, hath manifestly discovered those secret trades

and Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden and cunningly concealed from us: whereof some few among us had received a small imperfect glimpse only, which now is turned into broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it would seem that the will of God for our good is (if our finite knowledge could comprehend it) to have us trade with them in those East Indian treasures, and by the erection of a lawful traffic to improve our means to advance true religion and His holy service.

The carrack being in burden, by the estimation of the wise and experienced, no less than 1600 tons, had fully 900 of those stowed with the gross bulk of merchandise, the rest of the tonnage being allowed partly to the ordnance, which were thirty-two pieces of brass of all sorts, partly to the passengers and their food, which could not be any small quantity, considering the number of persons, between 600 and 700, and the length of the navigation.

To give you an idea of the commodities, it shall suffice to particularise them according to the catalogue taken at Leadenhall on the 15th of September 1592; where upon examination it was found that the principal wares after the jewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they never came to light) consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicoes, quilts, carpets, and colours.

The spices were—pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, cinnamon, green ginger.

The drugs were—benjamin, frankincense, galingale, mirabolans, aloes zocotrina, camphor.

The silks were—damasks, taffatas, sarcenets, alto-bassos, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, unwrought

China silk, sleaved silk, white twisted silk, curled cypress.

The calicoes were—book-calicoes, calico lawns, broad white calicoes, fine starched, coarse white, brown broad, and brown coarse calicoes.

There were also canopies, and quilts of coarse sarcenet and of calico.

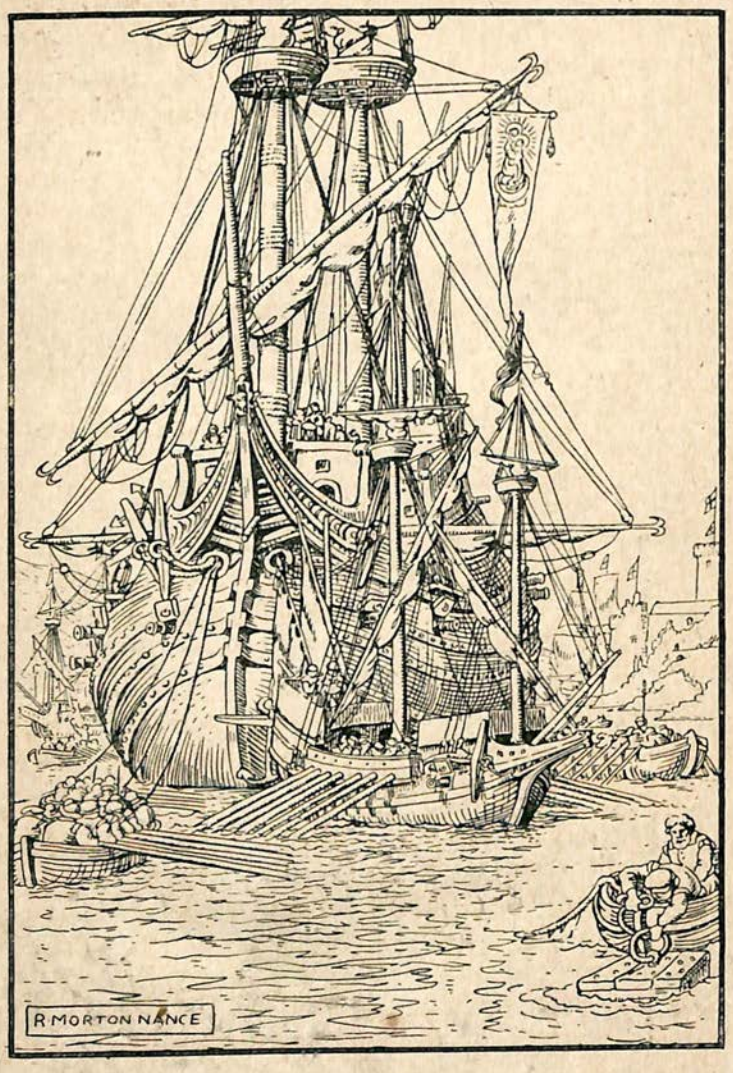
Carpets like those of Turkey; whereunto are to be added pearl, musk, civet and ambergris.

The rest of the wares were many in number, but less in value: as elephants' tusks, porcelain vessels of China, cocoa-nuts, hides, ebon-wood as black as jet, bedsteads of the same, cloth of the rinds of trees, very strange for the matter and artificial in workmanship.

All which piles of commodities, being by men of approved judgement rated but in reasonable sort, amounted to no less than £150,000 sterling, which being divided amongst the adventurers (whereof Her Majesty was the chief) was sufficient to yield contentment to all parties.

The cargazon being taken out, and the goods freighted in ten of our ships sent from London, to the end that the bigness, height, length, breadth, and other dimensions of so huge a vessel might by the exact rules of geometrical observations, be truly taken, both for present knowledge, and derivation also of the same unto posterity, one Mr. Robert Adams, a man in his faculty of excellent skill, omitted nothing in the description which either his art could demonstrate, or any man's judgement think worthy of memory.

After an exquisite survey of the whole frame, he



THE MADRE DE DIOS AT DARTMOUTH

found the length from the beak-head to the stern (whereupon was erected a lantern) to contain 165 feet. The breadth in the second close deck (of which she had three) this being the place where there was most extension of breadth, was 46 ft. 10 in. She drew in water 31 feet at her departure from Cochin in India, but not above 26 ft. at her arrival in Dartmouth, being lightened in her voyage by divers means some five feet. She carried in height seven several stories, one main orlop, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spar-deck of two floors apiece.

The length of the keel was 100 feet, of the main-mast 121 feet, and the circuit at the partners 10 ft. 7 in. The main yard was 106 feet long. By which perfect commensuration of the parts appeareth the hugeness of the whole, far beyond the build of the biggest shipping used among us, either for war or receipt.

Don Alonso de Baçan having a great fleet, and suffering these two carracks, the Santa Cruz to be burnt, and the Madre de Dios to be taken, was disgraced by his Prince for this negligence.

THE VOYAGE OF THE SHIP CALLED THE MARIGOLD

OF MR. HILL OF REDRIFFE UNTO CAPE BRETON AND BEYOND TO THE LATITUDE OF 44½ DEGREES, 1593

WRITTEN BY RICHARD FISHER, MASTER HILL'S MAN OF REDRIFFE

THE ship called the Marigold of seventy tons in burthen, furnished with twenty men, whereof ten were mariners, the master's name being Richard Strong of Apsham, the master's mate Peter Langworth of Apsham, with three coopers, two butchers to flay the morses or sea-oxen, (whereof some have teeth above a cubit long, and skins far thicker than any bull's hide,) with other necessary people, departed from Falmouth the first of June 1593, in consort of another ship of Mr. Drake's of Apsham, which upon some occasion was not ready as soon as she should have been by two months.

The place for which these two ships were bound was an island within the straits of St. Peter to the back of Newfoundland to the S.W. in the latitude of 47 degrees, called by the Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, but by the savages and natives of the

continent next adjoining, Menquit. On which isle are so great an abundance of the huge and mighty sea-oxen with great teeth, in the months of April, May and June, that there have been fifteen hundred killed there, by one small bark, in the year 1591.

The two English ships aforesaid, lost company before they came to Newfoundland, and never after came together in all their voyage.

The ship of Mr. George Drake fell first with Newfoundland, and afterwards, very directly came to the Isle of Ramea, though too late in the year to make her voyage. There she found a ship of Saint Malo, three parts freighted with these fishes; the men whereof enquiring whence our ship was, and who was the master thereof, being answered that she was belonging to Mr. George Drake of Apsham, fearing to be taken as good prize, being a Leaguer town, and at that time out of league with England, fled so hastily that present night, that they left three and twenty men and three shallops behind them, all of which our men seized and brought away as good prizes home. Here our men took certain sea-oxen, but not in such numbers as they might have, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected.

The ship called the Marigold fell with Cape St. Francis in Newfoundland the eleventh July, and from thence we went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterwards doubled Cape Razo, and sailing towards the Strait of St. Peter (which is the entrance between Newfoundland and Cape Breton) being unacquainted with the place, beat up and down a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length over-shot it, and fell with Cape Breton. Here divers of our men went on

land upon the very Cape, where, at their arrival they found the spits of oak of the savages which had roasted meat a little before. And as they viewed the country, they saw divers beasts and fowls: black foxes, deer, otter, great fowls with red legs, penguins and certain others.

But having found no people here at this our first landing, we went again on ship-board, and sailed further four leagues to the west of Cape Breton, where we saw many seals. And here, having need of fresh water, we went again on shore.

And passing somewhat more into the land, we found certain round ponds, artificially made, by the savages, to keep fish in, with certain weirs in them to take fish. To these ponds we repaired to fill our cask with water.

We had not long been here, when there came one savage, with long black hair hanging about his shoulders, who called to us, waving his hands downwards, using these words, Calitogh, Calitogh. As we drew near towards him, one of our men's muskets shot off unawares; wherewith he fell down, and rising up again suddenly, he cried thrice with a loud voice: Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh.

Thereupon, nine or ten of his fellows, running right up over the bushes, with great agility and swiftness, came towards us with white staves in their hands, like half pikes, and their black dogs not so big as a greyhound followed at their heels. But we retired into our boat, without receiving any injury.

Howbeit one of them brake a hogshead which we had filled with fresh water, with a great branch of a tree which lay upon the ground. Upon which

THE MEN OF THE MARIGOLD HUNTING MORSES

occasion, we bestowed half a dozen musket shot upon them, which they avoided by falling flat to the earth, and afterwards retired themselves to the woods. One of the savages, who seemed to be their captain, wore a long mantle of beasts' skins hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked with the exception of a skin around their waist, tied behind. After they had escaped our shot they made a great fire on the shore, probably to give their fellows warning of us. The kinds of trees that we noted to be here, were goodly oaks, fir trees of a great height, a kind of tree called of us quickbeam, and cherry trees, and divers other kinds to us unknown, because we stayed not long with diligence to observe them. And there is a great shew of resin, pitch and tar.

We found in both the places where we went on land abundance of raspberries, strawberries, hurtes, and herbs of good smell, and many good for scurvy; and grass very rank and of great length. We saw five or six boats sailing to the S.W. of Cape Breton, which we judged to be Christians, who had some trade that way.

We also saw, while we were on shore, the manner of their hanging up of their fish and flesh with withes to dry in the air; they also lay them upon rafts and hurdles, and make a smoke under them, or a soft fire, and so dry them as the savages use to do in Virginia. While we lay four leagues south of Cape Breton, we sounded, and had sixty fathoms black oozy ground.

And sailing thence westward nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty-four fathoms red sand

and small whitish stones. We continued our course so far to S.W. that we brought ourselves into the latitude of forty-four and a half degrees, having sailed 50 or 60 leagues to the S.W. of Cape Breton.

We found the current between this Cape Breton and Cape Rey to set out towards the E.S.E. In our course to the West of Cape Breton we saw an exceedingly great store of seals, & abundance of porpoises, of which we killed eleven. We saw whales, also all sorts, as well small as great: and here our men took many bearded cods, which are like to the North-east cods, and better than those of Newfoundland.

From our arrival at the haven of St. Francis in Newfoundland, which was as is aforesaid, the eleventh July, we continued beating up and down on the coast of Arambec to the West & South-west of Cape Breton until the 28th of September fully by the space of eleven weeks, and then by persuasion of our master and certain others, we shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Azores, and came first to Corvo and Flores, where beating up and down, and missing expected prey, we sailed by Tercera, and from thence to St. Michael, where we sought to board a Portugal ship. But this we found too well appointed for us to bring along with us, and so being forced to leave them behind, and having wasted all our food, we were constrained against our wills to hasten home unto our narrow seas. But it was the 22nd of December before we could get into the Downs; where from lack of wind we kept our Christmas with dry bread only.

One very strange thing happened in this voyage:

to wit, that a mighty whale followed our ship by the space of many days as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no means we could chase from our ship, until one of our men fell overboard and was drowned, after which she immediately forsook us, and never afterwards appeared.

A brief note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to the Isle of Ramea in the aforesaid year 1593. In the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher, servant to the worshipful Master Hill of Redriffe, is, as you read, a brief report of their losing of their consort the ship of Master George Drake of Apsham; which though she came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because she was not ready as soon by two months, as she ought to have been, was not only the hindrance of her consort the Marigold, and lost the season of the year for making her voyage, for killing the morses or sea-oxen, which are to be taken in April, May and June: but also suffered the fit places and harbours in the Isle, which are but two as far as I can learn, to be forestalled and taken up by the Britons of St. Malo, and the Basques of St. John de Luz, by coming a day after the fair, as we say. Which lingering improvidence of our men hath been the overthrow of many a worthy enterprise, and of the undertakers of the same.

THE CASTING AWAY OF THE TOBIE, NEAR CAPE ESPARTEL, WITHOUT THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR, ON THE COAST OF BARBARY

1593

THE Tobie of London, a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, manned with fifty men, the owner whereof was the worshipful Mr. Richard Staper, being bound for Livorno, Zante, and Patras in Morea, being laden with merchandise to the value of £11,000 or £12,000 sterling, set sail from Blackwall the 16th of August, 1593, and from thence to Portsmouth, where we took in great quantity of wheat, and set sail forth of Stoke's Bay, Isle of Wight, the sixth of October. The wind being fair, the 16th of the same month we were in the height of Cape S. Vincent, where on the next morning we descried a sail which lay right ahead of us, to which we gave chase, with very much wind, the sail being a Spaniard, which we found so good of sail, that we were fain to leave her and give over.

Two days after this we sighted Mt. Chiego, which is the first high land on the Spanish coast at the entrance of the Strait of Gibraltar, where we had

very foul weather, and little wind two days together. Here we lay off to the sea. The master, George Goodley, being a young man, and one who had never taken charge before in those parts, was very proud of the charge, which he was little able to discharge, neither would he take counsel of any of his company, but acted as he thought best himself, and at the end of the two days' foul weather, cast about, and the wind being fair, bare in with the Strait's mouth.

The 19th day at night, he, thinking he was further off the land than he was, bare sail all that night, and one and a half hours before day had run our ship upon the ground, on the coast of Barbary, without the Strait, and four leagues to the south of Cape Espartel. Whereupon, being all not a little astonished, the master said unto us, "I pray you forgive me; for this is my fault and no man's else."

The company asked him whether they should cut off the mainmast. "No," said the master, "we will hoise out our boat."

But one of the men coming speedily up said, "Sir, the ship is full of water." "Well," said the master, "then cut the mainmast over-board"; which thing we did with all speed.

But the after part suddenly split asunder in such sort that no man was able to stand upon it, so all fled upon the foremast, up into the shrouds thereof, and hung there for a time. But seeing nothing but death approach (being so suddenly taken that we could not make a raft which we had determined) we committed ourselves unto the Lord, and began with doleful tune and heavy hearts to sing the twelfth

Psalm, "Help Lord, for good and godly men, &c." Howbeit before we had sung four verses, the waves of the sea had stopped the breath of most of our men. For the foremast, with the weight of our men and the force of the sea, fell into the water, and upon the fall thereof there were thirty-eight drowned, and only twelve, by God's providence, partly by swimming, and partly by means of floating chests, got ashore, about a quarter of a mile from the wreck. The master George Goodley, and William Palmer his mate, both perished.

Mr. Cæsar also, being captain and owner, was likewise drowned. None of the officers were saved but the carpenter. We twelve, whom the Lord had delivered from the extreme danger of the sea, at our coming ashore, fell into as great distress. When we came ashore we all fell down on our knees, praying the Lord most humbly for his merciful goodness. After prayer we consulted together what course to take, seeing we were fallen into a desert place, and we travelled all that day until night, sometimes one way, sometimes another, and could find no inhabitants. We saw only where wild beasts had been, and places where there had been houses, which afterwards we perceived to have been burnt by the Portugals. So at night, arriving at certain groves of olive trees, we climbed up and sat in them to avoid the danger of lions and other wild beasts, whereof we saw many the next morning.

The next day we travelled until three of the clock in the afternoon without any food but water and wild date roots; then going over a mountain, we had sight of Cape Espartel, whereby we knew somewhat

better which way to travel, and then we went forward till we came to a hedgerow made with great long canes. We spied and looked over it and beheld a number of men, as well horse-men as foot-men, to the number of some 5000, in skirmish together with small shot and other weapons.

And after consultation what we were best to do, we concluded to yield ourselves to them, being destitute of all means of resistance. So rising up, we marched towards them, who espying us, forthwith some hundred of them with their javelins in their hands came running towards us, as though they would have run us through; howbeit they only struck us flatling with their weapons, and said we were Spaniards. We told them that we were Englishmen, which they would not believe yet.

By and by, the conflict being ended, and night approaching, the captain of the Moors, a man of some fifty-six years old, came himself unto us, and by his interpreter, who spoke Italian, asked what we were, and whence we came. One Thomas Henmore, of our company, who could speak Italian, declared unto him that we were merchants, and how by great misfortune our ship, merchandise and the greater part of our company were pitifully cast away upon their coast. But he, void of humanity and all manhood, for all this, caused his men to strip us of our apparel, even to our shirts, to see whether we had money or jewels about us, which when they had found to the value of some £200 in gold and pearls, they gave us some of our apparel again, and bread and water only to comfort us.

The next morning they carried us down to the

shore where our ship was cast away, which was some 16 miles from that place, in which journey they used us like their slaves, making us (being extreme weak) to carry their stuff, and offering to beat us if we went not so fast as they.

We asked them why they used us so, and they replied that we were their captives. We said we were their friends, and that there was never an Englishman captive to the King of Morocco. So we came down to the ship and lay there with them seven days, while they got all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongst them. At the end of these seven days, the captain appointed twenty of his men, well armed, to bring us up into the country.

The first night we came to the side of the river Alarach, where we lay on the grass all night; so next day we went over the river in a frigate of nine oars on a side, the river being in that place above a quarter of a mile broad, and that day we went to a town of thirty houses, called Totteon, where we lay four days, having nothing to feed upon but bread and water. Then we went to a town called Cassuri, and there we were delivered unto the Alcaide, who examined us as to who we were, and we told him.

He gave us a good answer, and sent us to the Jew's house, where we lay seven days. While we were there, they brought thither twenty Spaniards and twenty Frenchmen. The Spaniards they had taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foul weather cast on land within the straits about Cape de Gate, and so made captives.

Thus at the seven days' end, we twelve Englishmen, the twenty Frenchmen and twenty Spaniards

were all conducted towards Morocco, with nine hundred soldiers (both horse and foot) and in two days' journey we came to the river of Fez, where we lodged all night, being provided with tents. The next day we went to a town called Salle, and lay without the town in tents. From thence we travelled almost a hundred miles without finding any town, but every night we came to fresh water, which was partly running water and sometimes rain water. So we came at last within three miles of the city of Morocco, where we pitched our tents, and there met with a carrier which did travel in the country for the English merchants.

By him we sent word unto them of our estate, and they returned next day to us a Moor, who brought us victuals, we being at that instant very feeble and hungry. They also sent a letter (with pen, ink and paper) willing us to write them what ship it was that was cast away, and how many and what men there were alive.

For said they, "We would know with speed, for to-morrow it is the King's court; and therefore we would know for that you should come into the city like captives."

But for all that, we were carried in as captives and with ropes about our necks, as well English as the French and Spaniards. And so we were carried before the King, and when we came before him, he did commit us all to ward, where we lay fifteen days in close prison. In the end we were cleared by the English merchants, to their great charges, for our deliverance cost them 700 ounces, (every ounce in this country containing two shillings).

And when we came out of prison, we went to the Alfandica, where we continued eight weeks, with the English merchants. At the end of which time, being well apparelled, by the bounty of our merchants, we were conveyed down by the space of eight days' journey to S. Cruz: where the English ships rode. We took shipping about the 20th of March, two in the Anne Francis of London, and five more of us, five days after in the Expedition of London, and two more in a Flemish fly-boat, and one in the Mary Edward, also of London.

Other two of our number died in the country, one at our first imprisonment at Morocco, whose name was George Hancock, and the other at S. Cruz, whose name was Robert Swancon, whose death was hastened by eating of roots and other unnatural things to slake their raging hunger in our travel, and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without tents.

Thus of fifty persons, through the rashness of an unskilful master, ten only survived of us, and after a thousand miseries returned home poor, sick, and feeble, to our country.

Richard Johnson	Thomas Henmore
Wm. Williams (Carpenter)	John Silvester
John Durham	Thomas Whiting
Abraham Rouse	William Church
John Matthews	John Fox.

A LETTER ABOUT TIMBUCTOO

Another brief relation concerning the late conquest, and the exceeding great riches of the cities and provinces of Tombuto and Gago, written from Morocco the 30th August 1594 to Mr. Anthony Dassel, merchant of London.

LOVING FRIEND Mr. DASSEL, two of your letters I have received, one by the ship called the Amity, the other by the Concord. The chiefest matter therein was to be satisfied of the King of Morocco his proceedings in Guinea. Therefore, these are to let you understand, that there went with Alcaide Hamode for those parts 1700 men, who passing over the sands, for want of water perished one-third part of them, and at their coming to the city of Tombuto, the Negroes made some resistance, but to small purpose, for that they had no defence, but with their assegais or javelins poisoned, so they took it, and proceeded to the city of Gago, where the Negroes were in number infinite, and meant to stand to the uttermost for their country. But the Moors slew them so fast that they were fain to yield, and to pay tribute by the year.

The rent of Tombuto is 60 quintals of gold by the year, the goodness whereof you know. What rental Gago will yield, you shall know at the spring, for then Alcaide Hamode cometh home.

The rent of Tombuto is come by the caravan which is as above is mentioned 60 quintals.

The report is, that Mahomed bringeth with him such an infinite treasure, as I never heard of. It doth appear that they have more gold than any other part of the world beside.

The Alcaide winneth all the country where he goeth without fighting, and is going down towards the sea-coast.

The King of Morocco is like to be the greatest prince in the world for money, if he keep this country.

But I make account, that as soon as the King of Spain hath quietness in Christendom he will thrust him out. The King's force is not great as yet, but he meaneth to be stronger. There is a camp ready to go now with a viceroy; speech says with three thousand men, but I think there will be hardly two thousand. For by report, three thousand men are enough to conquer all the country, for they have no defence of importance against an enemy.

I think Hamode will be returned home in January or thereabout, for he stayeth but for the coming of the viceroy.

Mulley Balasen, the King of Morocco's son, was slain in Guinea, by his own men, and they were presently killed because they should tell no tales.

And thus leaving to trouble you, I commit you to God, who prosper you in all your proceedings. From Morocco, the first of August 1594.

Yours to command for ever,

LAURENCE MADOC.

THE EMPIRE OF GUIANA

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

1596

THE Empire of Guiana is directly east from Peru towards the sea, and lieth under the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of gold than any part of Peru, and as many or more cities than ever Peru had when it flourished most. It is governed by the same laws, and the Emperor and people observe the same religion, and the same form and policies in government as were used in Peru, not differing in any part; and I have been assured by such Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatness, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, it far exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation.

It is founded upon a lake of salt water of two hundred leagues long like unto Mare Caspium. And if we compare it to that of Peru, and but read the report of Francisco López and others, it will seem more than credible; and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought it good to insert part of the chapter of Lopez in his general history

of the Indies wherein he describeth the court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestor to the Emperor of Guiana, whose very words are these:

All the vessels of his house, table, and kitchen were of gold and silver, and the meaner ones of silver and copper to give greater strength and hardness of metal. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures, in proportion and bigness, of all the beasts, birds, trees and herbs that the earth bringeth forth; and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdom breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chests and troughs of gold and silver, heaps of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out to burn.

Finally, there was nothing in the country whereof he had not the counterfeit in gold. Yea, and they say the Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an island near Puna, where they went to recreate themselves when they would take the air of the sea, which had all kinds of garden-herbs, flowers, and trees of gold and silver, an invention and magnificence till then never seen. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantity of silver and gold unwrought in Cuzco which was lost by the death of Guascar, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards took it and sent it into Spain.

Now although these reports may seem strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are daily brought out of Peru into Spain, we may easily believe the same. For we find that by the abundant treasure of that country the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become, in a few years, from a poor king of Castile the greatest monarch

of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase; if other princes forslow the good occasions offered, and suffer him to add this empire to the rest, which by far exceedeth all the rest; if his gold now endanger us, he will then be unresistable.

POISONED ARROWS OF ORINOCO TRIBES

THE next morning, towards nine of the clock, we weighed anchor, and the breeze increasing, we sailed always west up the river, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champain, and the banks showed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captain Gifford, and with him Captain Thyn, Captain Calfield, my cousin Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, Captain Eynus, Master Edward Porter, and my cousin Butshead Gorges, with some few soldiers, to march over the banks of that red land, and to discover what manner of country it was on the other side, who at their return found it all a plain level, as far as they went or could discern, from the highest tree they could get upon.

And my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the Cacique Toparimica, told me that those there were called the plains of the Sayma, and that the same level reached to Cumaná, and Caracas in the West Indies, which are a hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations. The first were the Sayme, the next Assawai, the third and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa was overthrown,

as he passed with three hundred horse from Cumaná towards Orenoque, in his enterprize of Guiana; the fourth are called Aroras, and are as black as negroes, but have smooth hair, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poison I will speak somewhat, being a digression not unnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, than to find out the true remedies of these poisoned arrows; for besides the mortality of the wound they make, the party shot endureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death, sometimes dying stark mad. And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard either by gift or torment that could attain to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them.

But every one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priests, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the father to the son.

Those medicines which are vulgar and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called tupara: the same also quencheth marvellously the heat of burning fevers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veins that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians than any other; for Antonio de Berreo told me that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the best way of healing as well thereof as of all other poisons. Some of the Spaniards have

been cured in ordinary wounds of the common poisoned arrows with the juice of garlic; but this is a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrows are used, that they must abstain from drink, for if they take any liquor into their body, as they shall be marvellously provoked thereto by thirst, I say, if they drink before the wound be dressed, there is no way with them but present death.

THE WATERFALLS OF CAROLI

THE meanwhile myself with Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and some half a dozen shot marched overland to view the strange overfalls of the river of Caroli, which roared so far off, and also to see the plains adjoining, and the rest of the Province of Canuri. I sent also Captain Whiddon, William Connocke, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral stone alongst the river side.

When we were come to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters, which ran down Caroli; and from that mountain we might also see how the river ran in three parts, above twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with such fury, that the rebound of water made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town.

For mine own part I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman, but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, that they drew me on by little and

little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same.

I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects, hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass; the ground of hard sand easy to march on, either for horse or foot, the deer crossing in every path, the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation perching in the river's side, the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind, and every stone that we stooped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion.

Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun, and yet we had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard, made of that mineral spar aforesaid, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides, the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks. But we wanted all things requisite save only our desires and good will to have performed more if it had pleased God.

RALEIGH AT MOREQUITO

As soon as I came to anchor I sent away one for old Topiawari, with whom I much desired to have further conference, and also to deal with him for some one of his country, to bring with us into England, as well to learn the language as to confer withal by the way, the time being now spent of any longer stay there. Within three hours after my messenger came to him, he arrived also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and every one loaden with somewhat, as if it had been a great market or fair in England; and our hungry companions clustered thick and threefold among their baskets, every one laying hand on what he liked.

After he had rested awhile in my tent, I shut out all but ourselves and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his country and nations; that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other sought to regain the same from them both; and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the civil towns and apparelled people of Inga.

He gave me answer to this effect: first that he could not perceive that I meant to go onward to-

wards the city of Manoa, for neither the time of the year served, neither could he perceive any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize; and if I did, I was sure with all my company to be buried there, for the Emperor was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too few. Besides he gave me this good counsel, and advised me to hold it in mind, (as for himself he knew he could not live till my return): that I should not offer by any means hereafter to invade the strong parts of Guiana without the help of all those nations which were also their enemies. For that it was impossible without those either to be conducted, to be victualled, or to have aught carried with us, our people not being able to endure the march in so great heat and travail unless the borderers gave the help to carry with them both their meat and furniture.

For he remembered that in the plains of Macureguarai three hundred Spaniards were overthrown, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friends; but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were environed on all sides, and the people setting the long dry grass on fire, smothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discern their enemies for the great smoke. He told me farther that four days' journey from his town was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and nearest of the subjects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the first town of apparelled and rich people; and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers and carried to other nations far and near, came from the said Macureguarai and were there made; but

that those of the land within were far finer, and were fashioned after the images of men, beasts, birds, and fishes.

I asked him whether he thought that these companies that I had there with me were sufficient to take that town or no? He told me that he thought they were. I then asked him whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to join with us? He answered that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the rivers did remain fordable, upon this condition: That I would leave with him till my return again fifty soldiers, which he undertook to victual. I answered that I had not above fifty good men in all these, the rest were labourers and rowers, and that I had no provision to leave with them of powder, shot, apparel, or ought else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should be in danger of the Spaniards in my absence.

RALEIGH'S ADVICE TO THE QUEEN

THE West Indies were first offered Her Majesty's grandfather by Columbus a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceit, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This Empire is made known to Her Majesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty than an ordinary subject, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefits which I have received to abuse Her Highness either with fables or imaginations. The country is already discovered, many nations won to Her Majesty's love and obedience, and those Spaniards which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out and discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible.

Her Majesty may in this enterprize employ all those soldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captains and chieftains that want employment, and the charge will be only the first setting out in victualling and arming them. For after the first or second year I doubt not but to see in London a Contractation house of more receipt

for Guiana than there is now in Seville for the West Indies.

And I am resolved that if there were but a small army afoot in Guiana, marching toward Manoa, the chief city of Inga, he would yield to her Majesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearly as should both defend all enemies abroad and defray all expenses at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of three or four thousand soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations.

For he cannot but know how his predecessors, yea how his own great uncles Guascar and Atabalipa, sons to Guainacapa, Emperor of Peru, were (while they yet contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late years and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entry of his country; and of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladness, if not, he hath neither shot nor iron weapon in all his empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

NOTES

The numbers refer to the pages. N.E.D. = New English Dictionary.

1. This preface forms part of that written by Richard Hakluyt to the first volume of the second edition of his book *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compass of these 1500 yeeres.* This second edition was published during the years 1598–1600, in three volumes, revised and enlarged, the first edition, in one volume, having been published in 1589.

2. **The Bay of S. Nicolas**: the modern Dwina Bay in the White Sea. The Mercator atlas of 1613 represents the modern Dwina Bay and Onega Bay as one gulf.

3. **Vasco de Gama.** More correctly *da Gama.* The great Portuguese navigator who in 1497 first discovered the sea-route to India. In 1486 another Portuguese, Bartolomeo Diaz, had been the first to round the Cape of Good Hope, reaching the Great Fish River before he turned back. The discovery of the West Indian Islands by Columbus in 1492 stimulated the Portuguese to carry their flag further eastward, and accordingly Vasco da Gama was commissioned by Dom Manuel to endeavour to reach the Indies. He left Lisbon on July 8th, 1497, St. Helena on November 8th, and Great Fish River on December 16th, and on Christmas Day reached the harbour which received the name of Port Natal. Thence he passed to Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, Mombasa, and Melinde (now Malindi), from which town a pilot steered him across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, the chief port of the Malabar coast, where they arrived on May 20th, 1498.

3. **Escried.** This word is a sixteenth and seventeenth century equivalent of *descry*. Both words originally meant to cry out; then to cry out on discovery, as a watchman would; hence to espy.

Stephen Burrough or **Borough** (1525–1584) served as master in the ship *Edward Bonaventure*, in which Richard Chancellor as Captain and Pilot-major of the fleet accompanied Sir Hugh Willoughby towards the North-East, 1553: see p. 15. His brother William and his son Christopher also engaged in the North-Eastern explorations, and accounts of their voyages are to be found in Hakluyt. William Burrough acted as vice-admiral in Drake's expedition to Cadiz, 1587 (see p. 179), and commanded a ship in the fleet sent against the Spanish Armada.

Stephen Burrough's most important voyage took place in 1556. He left London in April, being given a farewell feast and dance at the Sign of the Christopher in Gravesend, by 'the good old Gentleman Master Sebastian Cabota,' who made all the company great cheer. Burrough passed the North Cape and the White Sea, and ultimately reached Vaigatz Island and the Kara Sea, where he made some observations of Samoyede habits. He had intended to reach the River Ob, but was driven back by ice and storms. His most interesting account is published in the first volume of Hakluyt, as also that of the voyage of Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman to Vaigatz in 1580.

Accoast. The old form of *accost*. The original meaning was *to lie or go alongside of*, hence *to go close to, approach*, and so '*to make up to and speak to*' (N.E.D.).

Deductions. A very rare concrete use of this word, not noticed in the N.E.D.

Mediterran: Mediterranean, sometimes given the simpler name of the Midland Sea in old maps.

4. **Alleging of testimonies**: bringing forward evidence.

5. **Unhaunted shores of Finmark.** Unhaunted has the meaning of uninhabited or unfrequented. It is curious that the commoner sense of the word *haunted* applies especially to this extreme northern district of Norway, where the super-

stitious beliefs of the earlier Lapp and Finnic inhabitants (see p. 189) have formed the basis of some of the most striking of the stories of the Norwegian, Jonas Lie (transl. by R. N. Bain in *Weird Tales from Northern Seas;* Kegan Paul, 1893).

7. **Porto Santo**: a small island lying to the N. of Madeira.

Mina: now Elmina, on the Gold Coast, founded as a strong fortress by the Portuguese about 1475 under the name of San Jorge da Mina. In the second voyage to Guinea (see p. 26) Captain Lock sold cloth to the fort which he calls La Mina or Castello de Mina.

8. **Macham**: Robert Macham or Machin, supposed to have carried off Anna Dorset, a noble English lady. This story is not authenticated, and in any case Madeira was discovered by Genoese sailors in Portuguese service before 1344.

10. **Hawkins.** This William Hawkins was the first of three sea-captains of this name. He was twice mayor of Plymouth and three times member of Parliament for the town. His son William was also mayor of Plymouth on several occasions and was a partner with his brother, the famous Sir John Hawkins, in privateering expeditions. He commanded a West Indian expedition in 1582 and provided ships against the Spanish Armada. His son William also took part in naval warfare of this period.

Sestos: now Cestos, about the centre of the Liberian coast.

12. **Ancient**: compare the use of this word by Coleridge, who, like Southey, was an enthusiastic reader of these old travels.

15. Hakluyt also gives 'the true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, to wit, the Speranza, which wintred in Lappia, where Sir Hugh Willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.' This contains a list of the ships and men taking part in the expedition, which was a 'voiage intended for the discoverie of Cathay, and divers other regions, dominions, Islands and places unknowen, set forth by the right worshipful, master Sebastian Cabota Esquire, and Governour of the mysterie and company of the

Marchants Adventurers of the citie of London.' Sir Hugh Willoughby, 'a most valiant gentleman, and well-born . . . both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the services of war,' was appointed Captain-general of the fleet, sailing in the Admiral-ship the *Bona Esperanza*, of 120 tons; and Richard Chancellor, in the *Edward Bonaventure* of 160, was Pilot-major (see note on Stephen Burrough, p. 3). King Edward provided them with a letter, in various languages, to the kings, princes, and other potentates inhabiting the North-East parts of the world, and Sebastian Cabot drew up a list of 33 ordinances to be observed on the voyage. This contains some characteristic passages. Clauses 22–26 might have been inspired by the kindly and courteous behaviour of Vasco da Gama on his voyage: they bid the travellers 'not to disclose to any nation the state of our religion, but to passe it over in silence . . . seeming to beare with such lawes and rites as the place hath, where you shall arrive'; and declaring that 'every nation and region is to be considered advisedly, and not to provoke them by any disdaine, laughing, contempt, or such like, but to use them with prudent circumspection, with al gentlenes and curtesie.' And there is the quaint warning: 'If you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skinnes, having long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that sight: for such be worne oftentimes more to feare strangers, than for any other cause.'

The expedition started from Ratcliff on May 20th, 1553; after a ceremonious farewell, and came down to Greenwich, the mariners all clothed in watchet or sky-coloured cloth. Clement Adams' account (in Hakluyt) says: 'And being come neere to Greenwich, where the Court then lay, the courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke upon the shoare: the counsellors they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne up to the toppe of the towers: the shippes here upon discharge their Ordinance, and shoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an eccho, and the mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. . . . To be short, it was a very triumph

in all respects to the beholders.' The ships sailed together until they reached the Lofoten Isles, when a storm dispersed them. Sir Hugh Willoughby's course is given in the text.

16. **Wardhouse**: now Vardö.

17. **Globe**: 'a spherical structure on whose surface is depicted the geographical configuration of the earth' (N.E.D.). N. Carpenter in 1625 wrote: 'A mappe differs from a globe, in that the globe is a round solide body, more neerely representing the true figure of the Earth.'

21. **Guloines**: the animal called the glutton, in Latin *gulo*. The N.E.D. does not give this 1553 form, quoting nothing earlier than 1607, where the word appeared in Topsell as *gulon*.

Ellons: elk. This form also not found in N.E.D., where Purchas, 1613, is quoted for the form *ellan*. The same word in a different sense appears in the form *eland* (a S. African antelope). The origin of the word is said to be the Lithuanian *elnis*, elk: compare *ollen*, p. 187, Russian for stag.

21. **Kegor**. On Mercator's map (ed. 1613) Kegor is marked as opposite to Vardö, *i.e.* on the Ribachi Peninsula, Russian territory. In another map by Mercator, of the Arctic Regions, a large island named Sir Hugo Willoughby's Land is marked as lying off Vardö.

22. **Richard Chancellor**. After the separation of the ships under Sir Hugh Willoughby's command, Richard Chancellor made for Vardö, where he waited a week for the Admiral, and then decided to continue alone. In the White Sea he came across some fisher-folk, who were in dread at the sight of a large ship. But Chancellor 'looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider howe much favour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed spread by and by a report abroad of the arrivall of a strange nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie.'

This was the propitious beginning of England's intercourse with Russia. Chancellor went forward from Archangel (then

called St. Michael) by way of Kholmogovy, Vologda, and Jaroslav (now a railway-route) to Moscow and established relations with the Russian Court. He made a second journey to Moscovy in 1555 and was drowned off the coast of Scotland the next year in returning. It may seem strange that such a roundabout way of reaching Moscow was thought necessary. But at this time the Baltic trade was in the hands of the merchants of Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzig, and other towns, and only a powerful fleet could hope to get safely through to Narva.

24. **To bestow them withal.** This is a peculiar use of *bestow*, not noticed in the N.E.D. The meaning is 'to provide for them thereby.'

26. The second voyage to Guinea was a trading voyage fitted out by certain West African merchants. It contains a not very interesting description of the coast of Guinea, with excursions into natural history and descriptions of native customs. Hakluyt obtained his narrative from the pilot.

31. **Philostratus**: a Greek Sophist, of Lemnos. Taught in Athens and Rome till about 250 A.D. His *Apollonius of Tyana* is often quoted by early Eastern travellers.

33. **William Towerson**: a merchant of London who made three voyages to the Guinea Coast in 1555, 1556, 1557. His narratives in Hakluyt are spirited and full of good descriptions of native life, and are especially interesting from the point of view of vocabulary. At the end of his third narrative he gives a list of commodities and wares most desired in Guinea, betwixt Sierra Leone and the furthest place of the Mine (Mina): Manils of brasse, and some of leade; basons of divers sorts, but the most lattin; pots of course tinne, of a quart and more; some wedges of yron; margarites, and certaine other sleight beads; some blew corall; some horse tailes; linnen cloth principally; basons of Flanders; some red cloth of low price, and some kersie; kettles of Dutch-land with brasen handles; some great brasse basons graved, such as in Flanders they set upon their cupboards; some great basons of pewter, and ewers graven; some lavers, such as be for water; great knives of a low price; sleight Flanders-caskets; chests of Roan (*i.e.* Rouen)

of a lowe price, or any other chests; great pinnes; course French coverings; packingsheets good store; swords, daggers, frise mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, axeheads, hammers, short pieces of yron, sleight belles, gloves of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

37. **Robert Tomson** was an Andover man who left England in 1553 and hit upon the idea of settling in Seville for a year 'to learn the Castillian tongue and to see the orders of the countrey and the customes of the people.' Seeing the fleets of ships which brought such quantities of gold and silver, precious stones and valuable wares from the Indies home to Spain, he determined to visit America himself. He sailed to the Grand Canaries, and there met agents of the merchants who sent out Captain John Lock (p. 26). After waiting here for seven months he joined the Spanish fleet for the West Indies, finding therein several Englishmen who had settled in Spain. After the storm described in the text, Tomson and his companions landed at San Juan de Ulloa and went on to Vera Cruz, where they were entertained by a wealthy Spaniard. Thence they went to Mexico city, where Tomson was in the service of a Spanish gentleman for a year, until he was accused of heresy and imprisoned by the Inquisitors. After seven months' confinement he was made to do penance before several thousand people and condemned to be imprisoned in Seville for three years. He was taken back to Spain in fetters and served his sentence. At the time of his release there arrived home the daughter of a rich Spaniard of Mexico named Juan de la Barrera, who had died on the voyage, and Tomson had the good fortune to marry the lady, whereby, he says: 'The marriage was worth to mee 2500 pounds in barres of gold and silver, besides jewels of great price.' The whole of this fascinating story is in Hakluyt.

41. **Black Moor**: this form of *blackamoor* is found as late as 1716. There were many early forms, such as *blacke Moryn*, *blake More*, *blackemore*, but the form *blacke Morian* (p. 144) is not in the N.E.D.

43. **Anthony Jenkinson**: called 'the first Englishman in Central Asia': see p. 78 for his list of travels. He travelled to Moscow on a trading-journey over the same route as that

taken by Chancellor in 1553, and in company with Osep Nepea Gregoriwich, the first Russian Ambassador to England, who had come as the result of Chancellor's journey. In 1557 he was Admiral of a fleet of four ships sent by certain London merchants to the White Sea. Among the instructions given to the masters and mariners was one to the effect that notes and entries be daily made of their navigations, put in writing and memory, and that the young mariners and apprentices may be taught and caused to learn and observe the same. Jenkinson was sent with letters to the Sovereign of Muscovy and Persia in 1561; in 1565 he was in command of a Queen's ship. He was granted arms in 1569 and died in 1611, after a life of travel which was of the greatest moment in the development of our knowledge of and trade with Russia and the countries east thereof.

43. **Science**: also p. 47.' Cf. North's *Plutarch* (1595) p. 174: 'Euery science and craft, as a captaine hauing souldiers, had also their army of the worke men that serued them.'

Lieflanders: people of Livonia. **Lettoes**: Lithuanians.

45. **Saphian leather**: this appears to mean leather of Sava or Saveh, an old city to the S. of Teheran. Gemelli Careri, 1694, in *Churchill's Voyages*, says: 'The principal trade of this city consists in certain small long furs, which not only the Persians, but all the Christians of the East, use for the lining of their garments and caps.'

Colpecke: a felt cap; a word of Turkī origin. The modern spelling is *calpack:* strange to say, this early instance is not noticed in the N.E.D.

47. **Brage**: this word not in N.E.D., but *bragget* is found from Chaucer's time forward, meaning a drink made of honey or spice, and ale. Welsh *brag:* malt.

48. **Kersey**: 'a kind of coarse narrow cloth, woven from long wool and usually ribbed,' N.E.D. Cf. Lyly, *Euphues* (1580), 'The Sunne shineth as wel vpon course carsie, as cloth of tissue.'

49. **Handgun**: a gun carried in the hand as opposed to a cannon.

50. **Balgh**: Balkh or Bactria (Balke, p. 54), the region between Afghanistan and Bokhara. The city of Balkh was called 'the mother of cities' and was a magnificent place of mosques, colleges, and gardens until destroyed in the thirteenth century by Chinghiz Kaan, leader of the dreaded Mongols, under whose rule, it has been said, not a dog might bark from Poland to the Amur without their leave.

Cathay: this word is said by Yule (*Marco Polo*) to be a form of *Khitai*, from the tribe Khitan, a people from the basin of the Sungari River.

Craska: not in N.E.D., but there is a modern word *crash* 'a coarse kind of linen, used for towels, etc.' No quot. earlier than 1812.

51. **Argomacks**: fine stuffs made from camel's hair.

Gentiles: this word had various meanings besides the Biblical one. It may mean *heathens* or *Hindoos* as distinguished from Mahometans.

52. **Caskar**: now Kashgar. **Cassaks**: Cossacks.

Sophie: sofi, a title of the Shah of Persia.

55. **Japan.** In the narrative of Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller of the latter part of the thirteenth century, there is a chapter on Japan beginning: 'Chipangu is an island towards the east in the high seas, 1500 miles distant from the continent, and a very great island it is. The people are white, civilized, and well-favoured. They are idolaters, and are dependent on nobody.' Yule says: Chipangu represents the Chinese Jih-pen-kwĕ, the Kingdom of Japan, the name Jih-pen being the Chinese pronunciation, of which the term Nippon, Niphon, or Nihon, used in Japan, is a dialectic variation, both meaning 'the origin of the sun,' or sun-rising, the place the sun comes from. Our word Japan was probably taken from the Malay Japún or Japáng.

West Indies: America generally.

58. **Captain George Fenner** was engaged in trading and freebooting expeditions for about thirty years after this voyage to Guinea.

60. **Mantle**: a large shield resembling a cloak or mantle.

63. **Armadas or caravels.** The word *armada* frequently applies to a single war-vessel as well as to a fleet. Cf. pp. 62, 225, 226, 231.

Crossbars: crossbar shot, balls with bars projecting on each side.

Chain shot: a pair of balls or half balls joined by a chain. This is the first instance of the use of the word.

Hail shot: small shot which scattered like hail.

68. **John Hawkins.** This famous man was a son of 'old Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth' (see p. 10 and note). He was born in 1532, and in 1562–3 began dealing in negroes, whom he captured on the Guinea Coast and bartered in the West Indies. The men taken prisoners on the expedition of 1567–8 he got back, together with a large sum of money, by beguiling Philip II. into the belief that he would be a party to an invasion of England. He was M.P. for Plymouth in 1572, treasurer and comptroller of the navy, and took a leading part in repulsing the Armada, for which he was knighted. He died at sea, 1595, whilst serving in Drake's expedition to the West Indies.

For a statement of the Spanish point of view regarding this episode see *The Cambridge Modern History*, iii. 295.

75. This extract is taken from a particularly interesting account of Mexico written by Henry Hawks, merchant, who lived there for five years. He was an observer of a rare kind in those days, taking note of natural objects, folklore, customs, and dialects.

81. **Cola.** N. coast of Africa; W. of Bona, N. of Constantine, and E. of Bugia, at about equal distances.

Chircassi, etc. Of these Caspian regions Shirwan, the district around Baku, is the only name surviving on modern maps. The position given to Shirwan on the adjoining map is, by an oversight, on the wrong side of the Caspian. Shemakha was the chief town of the province before Baku rose to fame. Jenkinson's own map of Russia, published in 1562, and

the Mercator maps of 1613 show a very slight knowledge of Caspian geography, with the exception of the districts near the trade-route between Derbent and Persia. Of the Circassians (Chircassi) Sir John Chardin, who travelled in these regions in 1672, says: 'From the channel of the lake Mæotis (Sea of Azov) to Mingrelia, is reckoned 600 miles along the coasts, which consist of pleasant woods, inhabited by a sort of Tartars, called Circassians, and by the Turks Cherks. ... . The trade with them is managed by exchange, the Cherks bringing down slaves of all ages, honey, wax, leather, jackals' and other beasts' skins.'

Comul seems to be the modern Kom or Kum, a town S. of Teheran. Zagátay in the old maps forms part of the country between the Turkoman territory and the Caspian. Hircania, the modern Gilan, the S.W. shore of the Caspian Sea, was the ancient name which also distinguished the sea itself (Mare Hyrcanum). Sir John Chardin and others were full of praise at the richness of this region. 'Nothing can be more beautiful than the fields of Hyrcania, where are whole groves of orange-trees, jessamins, and all the flowers we have in Europe' (*Pinkerton's Voyages*, ix. 181).

Shaw: Shah.

83. **Martin Frobisher** was born about 1535. His first voyage is the first of those he made to the North-West; he had been at sea, on the Guinea Coast and elsewhere, for twenty years before 1576. He made important discoveries in North America, and his name is still kept for Frobisher Bay, in the south-east of Baffin Land. He acted as vice-admiral in Drake's West Indian Expedition of 1586, and led a squadron against the Spanish Armada, receiving his knighthood afterwards. He died in 1594 from a wound received in the relief of Brest.

Threadden point: a point was a hook or catch fastened to the hose or breeches.

84. **Oaze**: seaweed. This is a rare word and the first instance of this spelling. Eden (*Decades*) in 1555 has 'Weedes of the sea cauled reites or ouse'; and Purchas (*Pilgrims*) in 1625, 'Oze, that growes upon the Rockes of the Sea.'

91. **Tangled**: the original has 'foltred upon a knot.' The

N.E.D. has no instance of this spelling, though *falter* is given as a provincial form in 1787. The early forms were *fylter*, *filter*, *felter*. Thus in 1598 Tofte has

> 'Phoebus no more doth combe his tresses faire,
> But careles lets them feltred hang in th' aire.'

91. Azurine: blue, azure. This is an earlier instance than any in the N.E.D.

Feed up: the original has 'they frank or keepe certaine dogs,' *frank* meaning to fatten up in an enclosure or stall.

Interesting accounts of the Eskimos are to be found in Nansen's *Eskimo Life* and in Peary's *Northward over the Great Ice*.

98. Ahull: 'to lie ahull is to take in her sails and lash the helm on the lee side of the ship' (Smyth: *Sailors' Word Book*, 1867).

Bulting: this word is found in the Shetlands in the sense of 'to jolt.' Cp. Swedish *bulta*, to hammer, throb. It may, however, be a misprint for the rare Cornish word *belting*, used of a ship plunging into a head sea.

Foy: Fowey, a port of S. Cornwall, still doing a coasting trade in small sailing ships. In the Elizabethan days its position was quite important, and in the roll of the huge fleet of Edward III. before Calais, about 1345, Fowey is mentioned as providing 47 ships and 770 mariners, a greater number than London, Bristol, Plymouth, Portsmouth, or any other port in the kingdom.

103. The Straits: of Gibraltar.

104. Citizens of Bethulia: in the Story of Judith in the Apocrypha. See *The New Temple Reader*, p. 18.

105. Brown bills: *brown* here means *burnished, glistening*. Cp. F. *brunir*: to burnish. The N.E.D. has no quotation between 1460 and 1802.

108. Using much thither: in the habit of resorting thither.

112. Dawed: this word meant both to awake from sleep or a swoon and to bring to. Cp. Drayton: 'Thinking her to daw, whom they supposed faln in some inchanted swound.'

113. Road: place for ships to ride at anchor; roadstead.

118. Tarento: Taranto in Apulia, the heel of Italy.

120. In this letter, written from Bristol, Parkhurst gives us some interesting details of the extent of the Newfoundland trade, which at this early date had reached large dimensions. He says that there were above a hundred sail of Spaniards there, come to take cod, which they dried at home, as well as twenty or thirty Biscaian whale fishers. Of Portuguese there were about fifty sail and of French and Bretons a hundred and fifty. He adds: 'the trade that our nation hath to Island (Iceland) maketh, that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.'

123. **Murres**: a West-country word applied both to the guillemot and the razorbill.

124. **Pair of butts**: the distance between two shooting butts or archery marks. Cf. Heywood (1562): 'Thy braine lacketh strength to beare a pinte of wine a payre of buttes length.'

125. From a letter written from Goa, 'the principal city of all the East Indies.'

Isle of S. Laurence: Madagascar.

126. **The line**: the equator. This is the first instance of this use and is not noticed in the N.E.D.

Zocotoro: now Socotra. A long account of the varied history of this resort of traders and pirates will be found in Yule's *Marco Polo* (1903 ed., ii. 408). The name is said to go back to a Sanskrit original meaning 'the Island Abode of Bliss.'

128. **Drake in California**: from *The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.*

Sir Francis Drake was born near Tavistock about 1540, and went to sea when young, on a coasting ship. His first oversea voyage was to Guinea in 1565. In 1567 he was in command of the *Judith* on Sir John Hawkins' expedition to Mexico (see p. 73). He made further voyages to the West Indies, and on one of these, in 1572, he captured Nombre de Dios in Panama, where he was badly wounded. On this voyage he caught sight of the Pacific from a high point of the Isthmus and 'besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship on that sea.' After a time of service under Essex in Ireland, he left Plymouth on Decem-

ber 13th, 1577, in the *Pelican* on his famous voyage round the world, from the account of which the extract on pp. 128-37 is given. His route was as follows: Plymouth, Mogador (on the coast of Barbary), Cape Blanco (N. of the Senegal), the Cape Verde Islands, the Brazilian coast, Rio de la Plata, passing through the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific only fifty-eight years after Magellan had first found the way. Thence to Valparaiso, Arica, Lima, Guatulco (in the Gulf of Tehuantepec), and California, or Nova Albion, as he named it. From California he turned westwards over the vast Pacific, passing several small islands before he reached Ternate in the Moluccas, where he was welcomed by the king as warmly as Magellan's men had been by the neighbouring chief of Tidor. The journey home was made by way of the Celebes Islands, Java, the Cape of Good Hope ('a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth'), and Sierra Leone. They arrived home on September 26th, 1580. Drake was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1581 on his ship (renamed the *Golden Hind*), and sat in Parliament at various times until 1585, when he conducted another expedition to the West Indies. In 1587 occurred the memorable exploit at Cadiz (see p. 179), and in 1588 Drake was Vice-Admiral, under Lord Howard of Effingham, of the fleet sent against the Spanish Armada. He died in 1596 off Panama, Sir John Hawkins having died a little while before, on the same expedition.

128. **Nueva Espanna**, or Nova Hispania: the Spanish and Latin names given to Mexico.

Royals of plate: Spanish coins, reals of silver. The real was worth about twopence halfpenny of our money.

129. **Malucos**: Moluccas.

138. The narrative from which this extract is taken is a very important one, as Ralph Fitch was one of the first Englishmen to take the overland route (*viâ* the Euphrates) to India, and he is the first English traveller in Burmah and Siam who has left any record. The expedition was 'sent foorth by the right worshipfull Sir Edward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London.' Fitch and his companions travelled by way of Tripolis, in Syria, thence by

caravan to Aleppo and Birra and down to Babylon by boat. Thence by way of Basra to Ormuz, where they were imprisoned by the Portuguese governor and sent on to Goa, then a most flourishing Portuguese possession on the Malabar Coast. They were soon set at liberty and travelled through India by way of Belgaum, Bijapur, Golconda in Haidarabad, Masulipatam, and Berhampur to Agra. At Fatehpur Fitch left his companions and went down the Jumna and the Ganges to Benares and Patna and up-country to Kuch Behar. Thence through Bengal and by boat to Negrais in Pegu. The names of the river-ports he names Medon, Dela, etc., are difficult to locate on the modern maps, though they are confidently placed on various islands (lying at the mouths of the Irrawaddy) in the Mercator maps. From Martaban he made an excursion to Malacca, then returned to Pegu and back to Bengal by sea. He returned to England by way of Ceylon, Comorin, Cochin, Calicut, Goa, Ormuz, Babylon, Aleppo. His narrative is crowded with valuable details, for at each centre he questioned traders and thus obtained information of countries, such as Bhutan, lying far from his route.

Paroes: prahus or praus, native boats, 'stem and stern alike, and fitted with an outrigger.' Pigafetta, in his account of the Magellan circumnavigation, says that the praus of the Ladrone islanders were handled so dexterously that they passed between the ships going at full sail and the boats they towed astern. See Dr. Guillemard's *Ferdinand Magellan*, p. 225. Woodes Rogers gives an interesting description of what he calls 'flying prows' (ed. 1718, p. 367).

Delingeges: Professor Skeat has kindly pointed me to Yule's explanation of this word in his Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms. He gives it as *deling* or *delingo*, with pl. *delingeges* (quoting this passage). He says that it is not Burmese, but may be Persian. Meninski gives *deleng*, meaning 'suspended'; and Richardson's Arab. and Pers. Dict. gives *dalang* or *dilang* in the same sense. *Delingeges* therefore seems to be an error for *delingos*.

145. This description of Virginia is taken from an account of a voyage made by Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow under Sir Walter Ralcigh's direction,

153. **John Davis** or Davys as early as 1583 had expressed his convictions as to the existence of a north-west passage to the East. On this voyage (1586–7) he discovered Davis Strait and explored Baffin's Bay. He was killed in 1605 in a fight with Japanese pirates off Singapore.

Salmon peal: grilse, young salmon of the first season.

Caplin: a fish resembling a smelt and used as a bait for cod. This is the first instance of the word, the N.E.D. having nothing before 1620.

154. **Gripes**: generally meant a griffin or vulture: here probably an eagle of some kind.

155. **Bed-staff**: the particular use of this article is not known; the term was one of those used to denote a ready weapon, and there is an old phrase 'in the twinkling of a bed-staff.'

157. Concerning the illustration representing Dartmouth men and Eskimo playing football, Henry Morgan, purser of the bark Sunshine, wrote: 'Divers times they did wave us on shore to play with them at the football, and some of our company went on shore to play with them, and our men did cast them down as soon as they did come to strike the ball.'

159. **Body of the land**: cp. Shakespeare (1595), *King John:* 'Neuer such a powre . . . was leuied in the body of a land.'

160. **Landing to stop a flood**: seems to mean: landing to wait for, or for the time of, a flood tide.

161. **Told them on shore**: either counted them or talked to them: the latter sense is peculiarly Devonshire, and the narrative of Davis is full of Devonshire words.

163. **Thomas Candish** or Cavendish was born in 1560, and in 1585 commanded a ship in Sir Richard Grenville's fleet sent by Raleigh to colonise Virginia. Next year he started with three ships on a voyage round the world, his route being Plymouth, Sierra Leone, Cape Frio in Brazil, Port Desire in Patagonia, Magellan Strait, California (where he captured a great treasure-ship), the Ladrones, Eastern Archipelago, Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena. In 1591 he started with John Davis on a similar voyage, but they lost each other off Patagonia,

and Candish sailed towards St. Helena, dying at sea, June 1592.

164. Cowl-staves: a cowl was a tub used for carrying water, with two ears through which a staff could be put so that two men might carry the tub.

165. With this mode of burial compare that of the old English and Norse peoples. See *New Temple Reader*, p. 192, for a translation of such a description in Beowulf.

166. Casique: Sp. *cacique*, *cazique*, from a native Central American word for 'lord' or 'chief.'

Shadow: this is a very rare use of the word. There is an early dialectal (Yorks.) use of shadow = veil in the Dialect Dictionary.

167. Bombasin: through French, from a derivative of the late Lat. *bombax* = *bombyx*, a silk-worm, silk; later, cotton.

168. Pompions: in the Dialect Dictionary there is a quotation of this form of pumpkin from Lancashire.

169. Shook the ship in the wind: the result of springing a luff, or bringing the ship closer to the wind than is done in luffing.

173. Crise: generally *kris*, a Malay dagger with a wavy blade.

174. From 'A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, as well merchantable as others: written by Thomas Heriot, servant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discovering a full twelvemonth.'

175. Luzerne, luzarne, or lucern, meaning lynx, is derived in the N.E.D. from early modern German *lüchsern*, pertaining to the lynx, from *luchs*, lynx. The word appears first in 1532 in the Acts of Henry VIII.

176. Testron: testoon or testone, a silver coin of different values. In England the equivalent of sixpence or a shilling, in France of a shilling, Portugal 5½d., Italy 1¾d.

177. Ragges: this appears to be a Shetland and N. of Scotland use of the word, meaning worthless stuff. Not in N.E.D.

177. **Orientness**: the earliest use of this word is in 1519, Horman: 'Pearlis wyll abyde no crafte: but anone theyr orientnes flytteth' (N.E.D.). From its original meaning of 'from the east,' *orient* came to have a vague sense of *lustre, brilliance.*

178. **For spare of ground**: for want of room. Though the Dialect Dictionary has no instance of the substantive, there are sufficient uses of the adjective *spare* in the sense of 'deficient' to show that this is a Scotch use.

181. **Flyboats**: ship-rigged merchant vessels of the Low Countries, having round sterns. See also p. 256.

182. **Corrosive**: in the original *corrasive*, something which frets or causes annoyance. Cf. 1588, Greene: 'In things past cure, care is a corasiue.' Also found in the form *corisive.*

186. Giles Fletcher, M.A., LL.D., was sent as ambassador in 1588 by the Queen to Feodor, Emperor of Russia. He wrote a book entitled *Of the Russe Commonwealth* (1591), which was suppressed, and portions only are given in Hakluyt. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and became chancellor of Chichester, M.P. for Winchelsea, remembrancer of London, and treasurer of St. Paul's. Like his son Phineas (author of *The Purple Island*), he was a poet.

188. **Tondro**: generally *Tundra.* The conditions of travelling described on p. 46 apply especially to the *Tundra.* A modern description is to be found in A. Trevor Battye's *A Northern Highway of the Tsar.*

196. **North Cape**: the direct route from the Azores to Plymouth leads past no land until the Channel is entered. This may refer to C. Finisterre or some western point of Brittany.

197. This extract relates to the previous one.

199. **Chidley**: Chudleigh.

Paul Wheele is probably the West Country name Polwhele.

202. **Monville de Hage**: Omonville la Rogue.

204. **Earl of Cumberland**: George Clifford, third earl, (1558–1605). He was a favourite at Court and commanded

a Queen's ship against the Armada. He fitted out a number of privateering expeditions against Spain and Spanish America.

This voyage of the Earl of Cumberland was merely a privateering adventure, its object being the capture and spoiling of defenceless ships and ports. The small fleet of four ships left Plymouth in June 1589, and when off the coast of Spain took eleven ships containing pepper and cinnamon to the value of £4,500, consigned to a Jew in Lisbon. When they approached the Azores (then a Spanish possession since the annexation of Portugal in 1580) they flew a Spanish flag from the main top, and off St. Michael they took three Spanish vessels with cargoes of wine and salad oil. At Fayal they caught a number of ships laden with sugar, ginger, and hides from Porto Rico, ivory, gold, and coco-nuts from Guinea. They missed the carracks they had hoped to find at Tercera, so took possession of Fayal, rifled the town, and did not leave until they had been paid a ransom of 2,000 ducats and taken away the ordnance. They next captured a French ship with fish from Newfoundland. Being frustrated in trying to take in water at several of the islands, they made for home, taking on the way ships from Brazil with sugar and Brazil-wood, and from Mexico with hides, cochineal, and china dishes.

Edward Wright: a famous mathematician, educated at Caius College, Cambridge, where he was elected Fellow in 1587. He was lecturer on Navigation to the East India Company, and is supposed to be the inventor of what is called Mercator's projection. His *Certain Errors of Navigation*, published in 1599, marked a revolution in the science. He died in 1615.

212. **Ventry**: County Kerry.

216. **Wildfire**: inflammable material of different kinds difficult to extinguish.

218. **Sir Richard Grenville** (Greenville or Greynvile) was a Cornishman and cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh. Sat in Parliament as member for Cornwall 1571 and 1584. Made voyages to Virginia in 1585 and 1586, and then was engaged in the organisation of coast defences in the West of England.

Prof. J. K. Laughton (*Cambridge Modern History*, iii. 319)

says: 'Howard, warned in time, weighed from Flores, where he had been lying, and avoided the intended attack; but one ship, the *Revenge*, by the ignorance, disobedience, or presumption of her commander, Sir Richard Greynvile, was caught, beset, and overpowered. Greynvile's obstinate defence against great odds has rendered the combat celebrated in story and in song; but its true moral is the disastrous effect of disobedience.'

219. **Argosies**: this picturesque word has a romantic origin in the name of the Adriatic town Ragusa, which in sixteenth-century English is found mentioned as Aragouse. Thus the first meaning of *argosy* was: a large merchant vessel of the Adriatic, especially of Ragusa. The N.E.D. gives the following illustrative quotations. 1577, Dee: 'Ragusyes, Hulks, Caruailes, and other forrein rich laden ships.' 1590, Greene: 'All the Argoses, Gallyes, Galeons, and Pataches in Venice.' 1668, Rycaut: 'It is said that those vast Caracks called Argosies, which are so much famed for the vastness of their burthen and Bulk, were corruptly so denominated from Ragosies, and from the name of this city (Ragusa).'

221. **Spanish Armada**: these events took place in the year 1591.

223. **Sprang their luff**: generally interpreted as meaning: brought their ships nearer to the wind. See note to p. 169.

High-carged: probably means: *burdened with lofty upper-works, high-built.* The N.E.D. does not venture upon an explanation of this phrase, which is rare. Cf. North's *Plutarch* (1595): 'Themistocles also did with no lesse skill & wisdome choose his time and place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntil the hower was come, that of ordinary custom the sea wind arose, and brought in a rough tide within the channell, which did not hurt the Grecian gallies, being made low and snug, but greatly offended the Persian gallies, being high cargged, heavy, & not yare of steredge.' The French original of Amyot (1559) reads: 'Aux nauires barbaresques qui auoient les proues releuees, & les planchez haults, & qui estoient pesantes & lourdes à manier, il portoit grand dommage.' The 1521 Latin version has 'in Barbaras vero insurgentes puppibus & tabulatis altis & onustis incidens.' These

passages would seem to make the meaning clear. Raleigh in a letter (1618) speaks of 'the high Carging of Ships, is that which brings many ill qualities.' And certainly the first thing which strikes one in looking at the pictures of the old galleys, is the clumsy appearance given by the towering poops and forecastles.

Chase: the ports at the bow or stern of a ship are called chase-ports. Harris' definition of *chase-guns* (1704) is: 'Such whose ports are either in the head (and then they are used in chasing of others) or in the stern, which are only useful when they are chased.' Thus there are both bow and stern chase. Here it seems to mean smaller guns fired from the cabins above the stern ports.

227. **General**: meaning the General's ship. Cf. the use of Admiral, Rear-Admiral, etc., throughout the book.

233. From 'A true report of the honourable service at sea perfourmed by Sir John Burrough Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honor. Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Lord warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Devon. Wherin chiefly the Santa Clara of Biscay, a ship of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the Santa Cruz and the Madre de Dios were forced, the one burnt and the other taken and brought into Dartmouth the seventh of September 1592.'

234. **Cannon perier**: a breech-loading swivel gun firing stone balls.

237. **Mirabolans**: Gerard in his *Herbal* (1597) has a chapter on the Indian Plum or Mirobalan Tree. He says: 'There be divers kindes of Mirobalans . . . they be also of diuers colours, some are yellow, some of Orange tawny, some blacke . . . they likewise growe vpon diuers trees, and in diuers and sundrie countries far distant one from another.' He enumerates four kinds: the Chebulæ, like a plum tree, with large pear-shaped fruit; the Flava Citrina, growing on a small tree like the service tree; the Emblicæ, growing on a low tree with fern-like leaves, and used by the Indians in tanning; and the Indicæ, growing on a tree with willow-like leaves, with fruit eight

square. He gives a list of medicinal virtues of this astringent fruit.

237. **Aloes Zocotrina**: aloes from the island of Socotra, at the mouth of the Red Sea, now a British possession. See note to p. 126.

238. **Ambergris**: an aromatic secretion from the intestines of the cachalot, often found floating on the ocean. For an account of this curious substance see Yule's *Marco Polo* (ed. 1903), ii. 408.

241. **Spar-deck**: a light deck amidships, above those decks carrying guns.

Partners: the place where the mast enters the deck.

242. **Redriffe**: probably Rotherhithe, on the Thames.

Apsham: this may be a corruption of Abbotsham, N. Devon.

254. **Totteon**: probably Tetuan.

255. **Salle**: probably Salee on the coast of Morocco.

259. From Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*. The facts of Sir Walter Raleigh's life are briefly as follows: Born about 1550 near Budleigh Salterton, S. Devon, half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Educated at Oriel College, Oxford. Knighted in 1584 after service in Ireland, and appointed Warden of the Stannaries and Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall; M.P. for Devonshire 1585–6, in which latter year he received a large grant of land in Munster. He sent out expeditions to Virginia (see pp. 145 and 174), and in 1594 sent Jacob Whiddon to the Orinoco, following himself the next year. In 1596 he wrote *The Discovery of Guiana*, and was wounded in the Cadiz expedition. Governor of Jersey 1601. Arrested on charge of conspiracy 1603, and imprisoned in the Tower until 1616, during which time he wrote his *History of the World*. In 1617 allowed freedom to travel to Guiana with another expedition, which was a failure. Rearrested on his return at the instance of Spain and executed October 28th, 1618.

Manoa: this description is followed by Mercator in his map of South America, and the same lozenge shape is given to the

fabulous Lake of Manoa as that borne by the Caspian Sea in these early maps. The existence of a *city* of Manoa was no doubt mythical. There are evidences as to the existence of a tribe of Mahanaos on the tributaries of the Rio Branco named Takutu and Rupununi, and this locality agrees with that of the supposed lakes.

Lopez: this is Francisco López de Gómara, who wrote in Spanish a history of the (West) Indies and a chronicle of New Spain. An extract from the former book, describing 'certaine great and strange beasts never seene or heard of in our knowen world of Asia, Europe, and Africa,' is given by Hakluyt.

260, 267, 268, 271. Inga: Inca. This was the name given to the King of Peru before the Spanish Conquest, and it often means, 'one of the royal race.' Raleigh's use of the word as a particular ruler of the name of Inca is peculiar and not noticed in the N.E.D.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY, LONDON (Secretary, Basil H. Soulsby, The British Museum, London.)

The complete list of the Society should be studied, as the majority of the publications throw light on this book. Those volumes which directly relate to the extracts given are the following:—

Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia. 1885.

The Voyage of John van Linschoten to the East Indies. 1884.

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NOTE.—The object of the Hakluyt Society is to print, for distribution among its members, rare and valuable voyages, travels, naval expeditions, and other geographical records, from an early period to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The subscription to the Society is one guinea yearly, and the good work which has now been carried on for upwards of fifty years would be expedited by a substantial increase in membership.

GLOSSARY

aboard, 15 : near to, alongside.
about, 43 : roundabout.
accoast, 3 : pass alongside. See Notes.
advertise, 68, 85 : advise.
adviso, 218 : a despatch.
ahull, 96, 98, 101 ; *at hull*, 205. See Notes to p. 96.
alleging, 4 : the action of bringing forward as evidence.
amain, 62 : with all their might.
ambergris, 238. See Notes.
amity, 69 : friendship.
appellation, 76 : appeal.
appertain, 13, 108 : belong.
aquavitæ, 47, 170 : strong spirits.
argosies, 219 : large merchant vessels. See Notes.
Armada, 225, 226, 231. See Notes.
arquebus, 60, 142, 164, 170 : an early kind of firearm, supported on a rest.
arras, 26 : tapestry.
artificial, 165, 238 : ingenious, artistic.
artificially, 47, 94, 145, 159, 165 : skilfully, cleverly.
astonishment, 118 : dismay.
athwart, 234 : across the direction of.
avoid, 128 : to leave.

baggage, 34 : rubbish.
bare it, 18 : passed through it.
bare with, 17 : kept close to.
bash, 166 : bast, fibre of the lime tree.
bear in, 16 : make their way in.
bed-staff, 155. See Notes.
belike, 34 : maybe, perhaps.
benjamin, 237 : gum benzoin, a fragrant resinous juice.
bestow, 24 : provide for. See Notes.
billet, 221 : thick pieces of firewood ; 260, bar, ingot.
billow, 145 : swell of the ocean.
black Moor, 41 ; *black Morian*, 144 : black-a-moor, negro. See Notes.
bombasin, 167 : raw cotton. See Notes.
book-calico, 238 : calico folded in pieces resembling books.
borderers, 268 : neighbouring tribes.
botija, 166 : Spanish for tub.
brackish, 164 : slightly salt in taste.
brage, 47. See Notes.
breach, 265 : break, broken state.
brown bills, 105 : burnished, shining battle-axes. See Notes.
brook, 60 : endure, bear.
budgets, 260 ; bags.
buffes, 31, 123 : bison, buffalo.
bulting, 98 : heaving, pitching. See Notes.
burial, 160 : burial-place.
buskins, 87 : long boots.
butt, 26 : large cask or barrel.
butt-fish, 189 : flat-fish.
butts, 124. See Notes.

caliver, 90, 150, 156, 201, 214 : light musket.
capons, 75 : cocks.

capstan bars, 97 : bars or levers used in turning the capstan, a sort of windlass used in hauling in a cable or drawing up an anchor.
caravel, 62, 183 : a small Portuguese ship with triangular sails.
cargason, 195 : list of goods shipped, bill of lading ; *cargazon*, 238, cargo.
caring to, 49 : concerning himself about.
carrack. See p. 241 for description.
casique, 166. See Notes.
cast, 163 : bring forth young.
caulked, 128 : stopped up the seams or crevices.
cauls, 130 : nets for the hair.
chain-shot, 63. See Notes.
champaign, 154 ; *champain*, 262 : level.
charge, 25 : expense.
chase, 223. See Notes.
chirurgion, 225 : surgeon.
civet, 59, 176, 238 : a perfume obtained from the African civet cat.
clifts, 130 : pieces of split wood.
climate, 178 ; latitude.
clime, 55 : latitude.
cock-boat, 220 : a small ship's boat.
colpecke, 45. See Notes.
commensuration, 241 : measurement.
compass, 8 : size, measurement.
compass, 109 : bring about, arrange.
compassing, 86 : proceeding round.
composition, 227 : truce.
congealed, 31, 42 : become solid.
congelation, 42 : a changing from a fluid to a solid state.
conies, 137, 164 : rabbits.
conserve, 14 : keep, preserve.
conserves, 170 : preserves.
consort, 242 : company.
contagious, 98 : foul, injurious.
contemn, 56, 156 : disdain, put a slight upon.
contentation, 24 : satisfaction.
contractation-house, 270 : exchange, trading-house.
conversation, 156 : behaviour.
cony-skins, 132 : rabbit-skins.
corrigidor, 148 : corregidor, a Spanish magistrate.
corrosive, 182 : grief, annoyance. See Notes.
cosmography, 3 : the science which describes the visible universe, hence *cosmographer*, 4.
countervail, 88 : to equal or compensate.
cowl-staves, 164. See Notes.
craska, 50, 51. See Notes.
crise, 173. See Notes.
crossbar-shot, 224 : 'a ball with a bar projecting on each side of it' (N.E.D.).
customably, 106 : usually.
cypress, 238 : a valuable kind of satin.

dawed, 112 : brought to his senses. See Notes.
deductions, 3 : results. See Notes.
derivation, 238 : handing on.
devised, 49 : discussed.
dewberries, 120 : a kind of blackberry.
diminished, 154 : lessen by taking away.
divers : several, a number of.
doublet, 87 : a short jacket or waistcoat.
dured, 51 : endured.

elan, 155 ; *ellon*, 21 : elk. See Notes to p. 21.
entreat, 106, 148, 171 : treat.
entreatance, 108 : treatment.
engines, 175 : devices.
entertain, 227 : consider.
equinoctial line, 200, 259 : Equator.
escried, 3 : descried. See Notes.
estate, 205 : state, condition.
exquisite, 238 : minute, careful.

falcon, 156 : a light cannon.

fauconet, 84 : falconet, an ancient kind of light cannon.
fenced, 132 : enclosed.
fensible, 106 : easy to defend.
fetch, 34 : trick.
flatling, 253 : with the flat side.
flaw, 16, 159 : gust, squall.
flood, 182, 183 : rising or flood tide.
flyboats, 181 : light, swift boats ; 256. See Notes.
footman, 265 : walker.
foreships, 234 : fore part of the ship.
forslow, 261 ; neglect.
frankincense, 237 : an aromatic gum resin.
fraught, 7 : freighted, laden.
furmentie, 146 : boiled wheat.
furniture, 166 : fittings.

gables, 114 : cables.
galingale, 237 : an aromatic East Indian root.
galleon : a Spanish ship of war, shorter but higher than a galley.
galliass, 62, 219 : a heavy war vessel, larger than a galley.
general, 227. See Notes.
glaives, 110 : swords.
governors, 127 : pilots.
graff, 120 : graft.
grapnel, 34 : a small anchor with three or more barbed points.
grave, 164 : to clean the outside of a ship.
gripes, 154 : vultures.
gross, 44 : coarse.
grossly, 176 : coarsely, not finely.
guloines, 21 : gluttons. See Notes.
gut, 183 : channel.

hail-shot, 63. See Notes.
halberds, 105 : a weapon half spear half battle-axe.
hale, 15, 166 : to move before the wind, to sail.
haled, 168 : hauled, pulled.
half-pike, 244 : a small pike used on ships for repelling boarders.
high-carged, 223. See Notes.
historiographers, 5 : historians.
hogshead, 244 : a large cask.
hoise : an old form from which *hoist* has been developed.
holpen, 9 : helped.
hullock, 16 : a piece of a sail or a small sail opened to keep the ship's head to the sea.
hurtes, 247 : whortleberries, bilberries.
husbanded, 175 : tended, cultivated.

imbrued, 91 : stained, soaked.
incontinently, 202 : with all haste.
inquisition, 52 : inquiry.
intermit, 13 : leave off, discontinue.
intreated, 130 : treated.

jerkin, 33, 171 : short coat.

kenning, 5 ; sight, view.
kersey, 48. See Notes.

leak, 96 : leaky.
lee shore, 18 : a shore that the wind blows upon.
lenity, 156 : kindness.
let, 52 : hindered.
ligament, 1 : a band of tissue holding together bones of the body.
list, 44, 228 : desire, wish.
lodes-man, 4 : leader, pilot.
Losh, 187 : Russian for elk.
luff, 223. See Notes.
luffing, 223. See Notes.
luzarnes, 123 ; *luzernes*, 175 : lynxes.
lying, 50 : remaining there.

main, 159, 176 : mainland.
manels, *manelios*, 33 : bracelets. Span. *manilla*.
mantle, 60. See Notes.
margarits, 33 : beads.
merchantable, 176 : valuable for trading purposes.

merchants-strangers, 139: foreign merchants.
mirabolans, 237. See Notes.
misliked, 134: disliked.
munition, 103, 113: defensive armour, material of war.
murres, 123: the West-country term for guillemots and razor-bills, small diving sea-birds.

nether, 26, 27: lower.
nether-stocks, 187: hose.
niceness, 23: fastidiousness.
nock, 93: notch.

oaze, 84: seaweed. See Notes.
occasions, 52: events.
ollen, 487: Russian for red-deer. See Notes to p. 21.
orientness, 177; lustre, brilliance. See Notes.
orlop, 241: the lowest deck of a ship.
ostentation, 220: proud show, parade.
overfall, 5: turbulent water caused by shoals or the meeting of cross currents; 265: waterfall.
overthrew, 161: tumbled.

pageant, 90: show.
palmer tree, 139: palm tree.
parboiled, 91: partly boiled.
paroes, 138. See Notes.
partners, 241. See Notes.
pass, 93: exceed.
pease, 11, 167: pea. Hence *peasen* pl., 36.
perier, 234. See Notes.
pertain, 22: belong.
pieces, 104, 223: guns.
pied, 51: variegated.
pilobiers, 38: probably pillowcases; here evidently pillows.
pineapple tree, 120: pine tree.
pinnace: a small boat of two sails and eight oars.
pipe-staves, 183: staves of a cask.
plate, 128: silver.
plumasiers, 23: dealers in feathers.
point, 83. See Notes.
poise, 28: weight.
pommel, 110: the knob on a sword-hilt.
pompions, 168; pumpkins.
premisses, 70: conditions.
present, 172: immediate.
presently, 128, 164: at once.
presseth, 22: forces to serve as soldier.
privities, 13: private matters.
proviso, 6: condition, limitation.

quickbeam, 247: a name given to the mountain-ash and also to the juniper.
quintals, 258: a weight of 100 lbs. or a hundredweight.

ragges, 177: worthless fragments. See Notes.
Ragusa. See *argosy*.
rase, 91: cut; *razed*, 97.
ravening, 76: given to devouring eagerly.
razed, 226; swept away, destroyed.
rebate, 49: give back.
redress, 17; repair.
rehearse, 47: tell, recount.
repair, 42, 244: go.
requite, 63; repay.
roomer, 17, 21: further out.
royals, 128: reals, Spanish coins.

sacre, 170: a 'hawk,' a Spanish cannon.
salmon peal, 153, 156. See Notes.
sarcenet, 237: a fine thin woven silk.
sassafras, 146, 174: a medicinal laurel.
scant, 41: scarcely.
scanted, 182: failed.
science, 47: branch of trade, craft.
sea-causes, 10: matters relating to the sea.
season, 110: time.
seron, 195; Spanish for basket.
shadow, 166: a shaded litter.

shoal, 17 : shallow.
side, 92 : long.
singular, 13 : particular.
several, 145 : different.
sithens, 4 : since.
sleaved, 238 : raw, not spun.
sodden, 126, 146, 197 : boiled.
spar-deck, 241. See Notes.
spinelles, 143 : crystals of various colours.
spurn, 156 : kick.
stang, 138 : pole.
stinted, 132 : limited.
stocked, 17 : having the pumps and waterways choked.
stock-fish, 197 : dried, unsalted fish.
straight, 141 : narrow ; 153, strict.
straightly, 44 : strictly.
strawed, 131 : strewn.
strook, 38 : struck.
sumach, 177 : pron., shúmak, a tree whose leaves are used in medicine, tanning, and dyeing.
sumptuous, 166 : richly furnished.
suspect, 109 : suspicion.

taffata, 237 : taffeta, a fine, smooth silk.
target, 36, 60, 104 : shield.
terms, 76 : times at which courts are held.
testron, 176 : testoon, a small silver coin. See Notes.
thornback, 120 : a fish allied to the skate.
thought, 8 : care, anxiety.
threadden, 83 : made of thread.
thwart, 67 : across the direction of.
top, 97 : platform at the top of a lower mast.
tractable, 28 : easily led.
travail, 1, 24 : labour.
tuliban, 169 : turban.
tunnies, 183 : a large fish allied to the mackerel.

unhaunted, 5 : unvisited, uninhabited. See Notes.
using, 108 : frequenting, gathering together.
utterance, 51 : circulation of money, trade

valing, 4 : drawing away, receding.
vendible, 53 : capable of being sold.
vent, 178 : demand, sale.
verst, 188 : a Russian measure of length containing 3,500 feet.
virginals, 32, 174 : an old keyed instrument resembling a spinet.
visages, 155 : faces.

want, 137 : mole.
weather bow, 222 : that side of the fore part of a ship which faces the wind.
weighed, 202 : weighed anchor.
wights, 98 : creatures.
wilks, 121 : whelks.
will: desire, wish, often implying a command.
withes, 247 : twisted twigs.
wood, 105 : mad.

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